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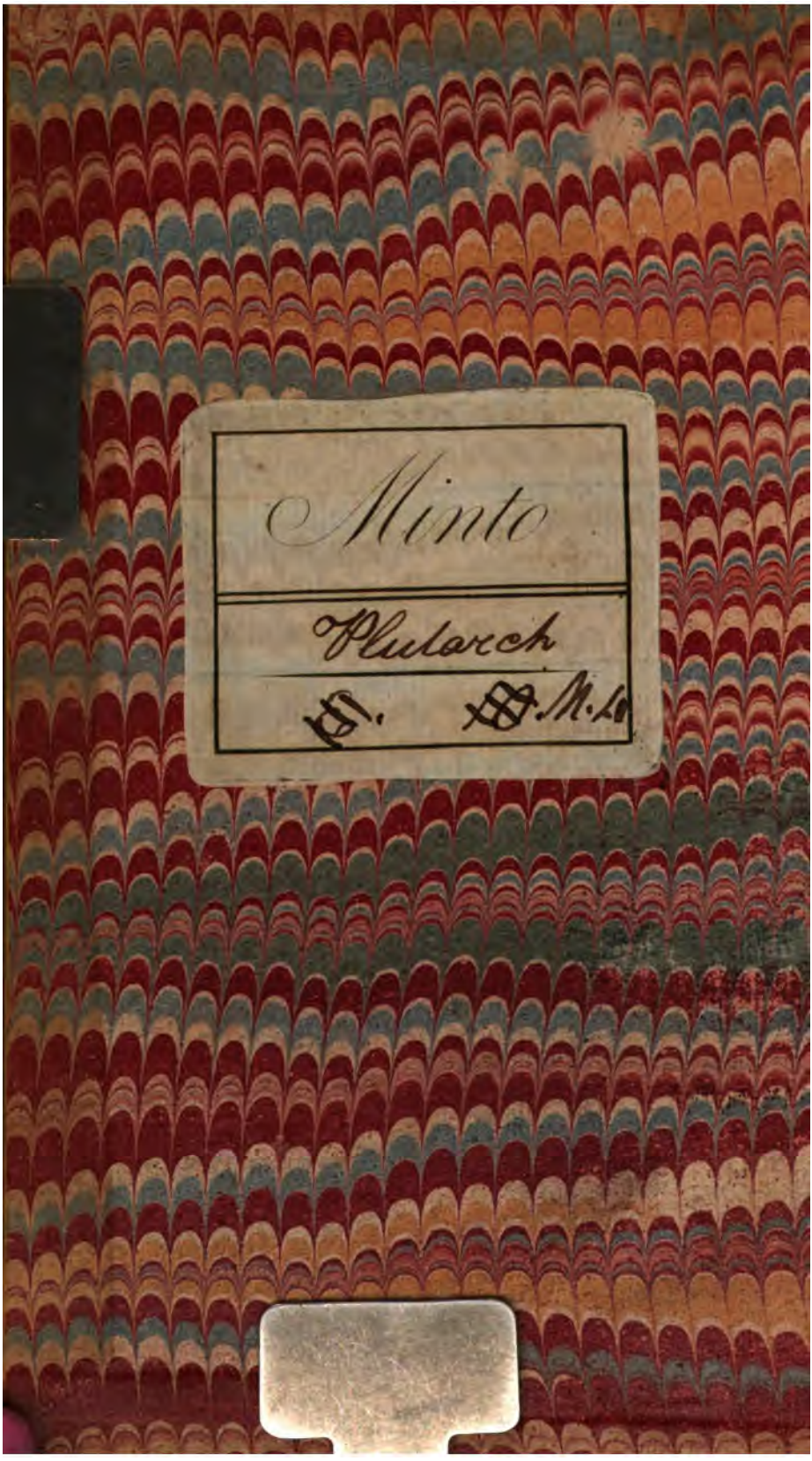
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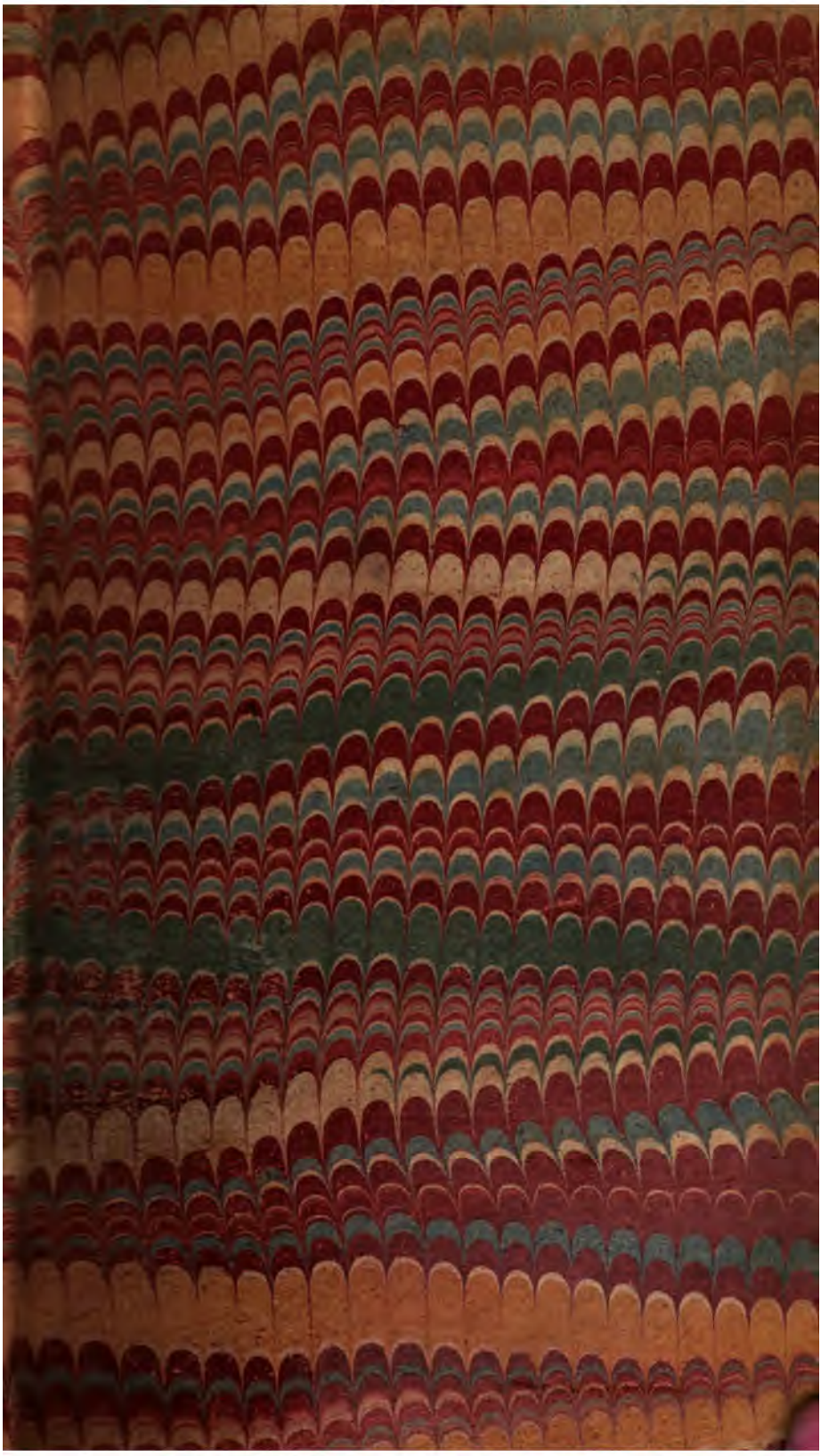

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PLUTARCH'S

LIVES.

VOL. IV.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED from the ORIGINAL GREEK,

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

By JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.

AND

WILLIAM LANGHORNE, M.A.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

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MDCCLXX.

PLUTARCH's LIVES.

SERTORIUS.

IT is not at all aſtoniſhing, that fortune, in the variety of her motions through a courſe of numberleſs ages, happens often to hit upon the ſame point, and to produce events perfectly ſimilar. For, if the number of events be infinite, fortune may eaſily furniſh herſelf with parallels in ſuch abundance of matter: if their number be limited, there muſt neceſſarily be a return of the ſame occurrences, when the whole is run through.

Some there are, who take a pleaſure in collecting thoſe accidents and adventures they have met with in hiſtory or converſation, which have ſuch a characteriſtical likeneſs, as to appear the effects of reaſon and foreſight. For example, there were two eminent perſons of the name of Attis*, the one a Syrian, the

* Pauſanias, in his Achaics, mentions one Attis or Attes, the ſon of Calaus the Phrygian, who introduced the worſhip of the mother of the gods among the Lydians. He was himſelf under a natural incapacity of having children, and therefore he might poſſibly be the firſt who propoſed that all the prieſts of that goddeſs ſhould be eunuchs. Pauſanias adds, that Jupiter, diſpleaſed at his being ſo great a favourite with her, ſent a boar, which ravaged the fields, and ſlew Attis, as well as many of the Lydians. We know nothing of any other Attis.

other an Arcadian, who were both killed by a boar. There were two Actæons, one of which was torn in pieces by his dogs, and the other by his lovers *. Of the two Scipios, one conquered Carthage, and the other demoliſhed it. Troy was taken three times; the firſt time by Hercules, on account of Laomedon's horſes; the ſecond time, by Agamemnon, through means of the † wooden horſe; the third, by Charidemus, a horſe happening to ſtand in the way, and hindering the Trojans from ſhutting the gates ſo quickly as they ſhould have done. There are two cities that bear the names of the moſt odoriferous plants, ‡ *Ios* and *Smyrna*, *Violet* and *Myrrh*, and Homer is ſaid to have been born in the one, and to have died in the other. To theſe inſtances we may add, that ſome of the generals who have been the greateſt warriors, and have exerted their capacity for ſtratagem in the moſt ſucceſsful manner, have had but one eye; I mean Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal, and Sertorius, whoſe life we are now going to write. A man, whoſe conduct with reſpect to women, was preferable to that of Philip, who was more faithful to his friends than Antigonus, and more humane to his enemies than Hannibal; but, though he was inferior to none of them in capacity, he fell ſhort of them all in ſucceſs. Fortune, indeed, was ever more cruel to him than his moſt inveterate and avowed enemies; yet he ſhewed himſelf a match for Metellus in experience, for Pompey in noble daring, for Sylla in his victories, nay, for the whole Roman people in power; and was all the while an exile and ſojourner among Barbarians.

* Actæon the ſon of Ariſtæus, was torn in pieces by his own dogs, and Actæon the ſon of Meliſſus, by the Bacchiadæ. See the Scholiaſt upon Apollonius, Book IV.

† Theſe are all wooden inſtances of events being under the guidance of an intelligent Being. Nay, they are ſuch puerilities as Timæus himſelf ſcarce ever gave into.

‡ Some ſuppoſe Ios to have been an iſland rather than a town. But if it was an iſland, there might be a town in it of the ſame name, which was often the caſe in the Greek iſlands.

The

The Grecian general who, we think, moſt reſembles him, is Eumenes of * Cardia. Both of them excelled in point of generalſhip; in all the art of ſtratagem, as well as courage. Both were baniſhed their own countries, and commanded armies in others. And both had to contend with fortune, who perſecuted them ſo violently, that at laſt they were aſſaſſinated through the treachery of thoſe very perſons whom they had often led to victory.

Quintus Sertorius was of a reſpectable family in the town of Nurſia, and country of the Sabines. Having loſt his father when a child, he had a liberal education given him by his mother, whom on that account he always loved with the greateſt tenderneſs. Her name was Rhea. He was ſufficiently qualified to ſpeak in a court of juſtice, and by his abilities that way gained ſome intereſt, when but a youth, in Rome itſelf. But his greater talents for the camp, and his ſucceſs as a ſoldier, turned his ambition into that channel.

He made his firſt campaign under † Cæpio, when the Cimbri and Teutones broke into Gaul. The Romans fought a battle, in which their behaviour was but indifferent, and they were put to the rout. On this occaſion Sertorius loſt his horſe, and received many wounds himſelf, yet he ſwam the river Rhone, armed as he was with his breaſt-plate and ſhield, in ſpite of the violence of the torrent. Such was his ſtrength of body, and ſo much had he improved that ſtrength by exerciſe.

The ſame enemy came on a ſecond time with ſuch prodigious numbers, and ſuch dreadful menaces, that it was difficult to prevail with a Roman to keep his poſt, or to obey his general. Marius had then the

* In the Thracian Cherſoneſus.

† In the printed text it is *Scipio*; but two manuſcripts give us *Cæpio*. And it certainly was Q. Servilius Cæpio, who, with the conſul Cn. Mallius, was defeated by the Cimbri in the fourth year of the hundred and ſixty-eighth Olympiad, a hundred and three years before the Chriſtian æra.

command, and Sertorius offered his ſervice to go as a ſpy, and bring him an account of the enemy. For this purpoſe he took a Gauliſh habit, and having learnt as much of the language as might ſuffice for common addreſs, he mingled with the Barbarians. When he had ſeen and heard enough to let him into the meaſures they were taking, he returned to Marius, who honoured him with the eſtabliſhed rewards of valour. And during that whole war, he gave ſuch proofs of his courage and capacity, as raiſed him to diſtinction, and perfectly gained him the confidence of his general.

After the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was ſent as a legionary tribune, under Didius, into Spain, and took up his winter quarters in * Caſtulo, a city of the Celtiberians. The ſoldiers living in great plenty, behaved in an inſolent and diſorderly manner, and commonly drank to intoxication. The Barbarians ſeeing this, held them in contempt; and one night having got aſſiſtance from their neighbours the † Gyriſcenians, they entered the houſes where they were quartered, and put them to the ſword. Sertorius, with a few more, having found means to eſcape, ſallied out and collected all that had got out of the hands of the Barbarians. Then he marched round the town, and finding the gate open at which the Gyriſcenians had been privately admitted, he entered; but took care not to commit the ſame error they had done. He placed a guard there, made himſelf maſter of all quarters of the town, and ſlew all the inhabitants who were able to bear arms. After this execution, he ordered his ſoldiers to lay aſide their own arms and clothes, and take thoſe of the Barbarians, and to follow him in that form to the city of the Gyriſcenians. The people, deceived by the ſuits of armour and habits they were acquainted with, opened their gates, and ſallied forth,

* A town of New Caſtile, on the confines of Andaluſia.

† The Gyriſcenians being a people whom we know nothing of, it has been conjectured that we ſhould read *Oriſians*. The Oriſians were of that diſtrict, See Cellarius.

in

in expectation of meeting their friends and fellow-citizens in all the joy of ſucceſs. The conſequence of which was, that the greateſt part of them were cut in pieces at the gates: the reſt ſurrendered, and were ſold as ſlaves.

By this manœuvre, the name of Sertorius became famous in Spain; and upon his return to Rome he was appointed quæſtor in the Ciſalpine Gaul. That appointment was a very ſeaſonable one; for, the Marian war ſoon breaking out, and Sertorius being employed to levy troops and to provide arms, he proceeded in that commiſſion with ſuch expedition and activity, that, while effeminacy and ſupineneſs were ſpreading among the reſt of the Roman youth, he was conſidered as a man of ſpirit and enterprize.

Nor did his martial intrepidity abate, when he arrived at the degree of general. His perſonal exploits were ſtill great, and he faced danger in the moſt fearleſs manner; in conſequence of which he had one of his eyes ſtruck out. This, however, he always gloried in. He ſaid, others did not always carry about with them the honourable badges of their valour, but ſometimes laid aſide their chains, their truncheons, and coronets; while he had perpetually the evidences of his bravery about him, and thoſe who ſaw his misfortune, at the ſame time beheld his courage. The people, too, treated him with the higheſt reſpect. When he entered the theatre, they received him with the loudeſt plaudits and acclamations: an honour which officers diſtinguiſhed for their age and atchievements did not eaſily obtain.

Yet when he ſtood for the office of tribune of the people, he loſt it through the oppoſition of Sylla's faction; which was the chief cauſe of his perpetual enmity againſt Sylla. When Marius was overpowered by Sylla, and fled for his life, and Sylla was gone to carry on the war againſt Mithridates, Octavius, one of the conſuls, remained in Sylla's intereſt; but Cinna, the other conſul, whoſe temper was reſtleſs and

ſeditious, endeavoured to revive the ſinking faction of Marius. Sertorius joined the latter; the rather becauſe he perceived that Octavius did not act with vigour, and that he diſtruſted the friends of Marius.

Some time after, a great battle was fought by the conſuls in the *Forum*, in which Octavius was victorious, and Cinna and Sertorius having loſt not much leſs than ten thouſand men, were forced to fly. But, as there was a number of troops ſcattered up and down in Italy, they gained them by promiſes, and with that addition found themſelves able to make head againſt Octavius again. At the ſame time Marius arrived from Africa, and offered to range himſelf under the banners of Cinna, as a private man under the conſul. The officers were of opinion that they ought to receive him; only Sertorius oppoſed it. Whether it was that he thought Cinna would not pay ſo much attention to him, when he had a man of ſo much greater name, as a general, in his army; or whether he feared, the cruelty of Marius would throw all their affairs into confuſion again; as he indulged his reſentments without any regard to juſtice or moderation whenever he had the advantage. He remonſtrated, that as they were already ſuperior to the enemy, they had not much left to do; but if they admitted Marius among them, he would rob them of all the honour and the power at the ſame time, for he could not endure an aſſociate in command, and was treacherous in every thing where his own intereſt was concerned.

Cinna anſwered, that the ſentiments of Sertorius were perfectly right, but that he was aſhamed, and indeed knew not how to reject Marius, when he had invited him to take a part in the direction of affairs. Sertorius replied, "I imagined that Marius had come "of his own accord into Italy, and pointed out to "you what in that caſe was moſt expedient for you to "do: but, as he came upon your invitation, you "ſhould

"should not have * deliberated a moment whether he "was to be admitted or not. You should have received him immediately. True honour leaves no "room for doubt and hesitation."

Cinna then sent for Marius; and the forces being divided into three parts, each of these three great officers had a command. When the war was over, Cinna and Marius gave into every kind of insolence and cruelty. Sertorius alone neither put any man to death to glut his own revenge, nor committed any other outrage: on the contrary, he reproached Marius with his savage proceedings, and applying to Cinna in private, prevailed with him to make a more moderate use of his power. At last, finding that the slaves, whom Marius had admitted his fellow-soldiers, and afterwards employed as the † guards of his tyranny, were a strong and numerous body; and that partly by order or permission of Marius, partly by their native ferocity, they proceeded to the greatest excesses, killing their masters, abusing their mistresses, and violating the children; he concluded, that these outrages were insupportable, and shot them all with arrows in their camp, though their number was not less than four thousand.

After the death of Marius, the assassination of Cinna that followed it, and the appointment of young Marius to the consulship, contrary to the will of Sertorius and the laws of Rome, Carbo, Scipio, and Norbanus carried on the war against Sylla, now returned to Italy, but without any success. For sometimes the officers behaved in a mean and dastardly manner, and sometimes the troops deserted in large bodies. In this case Sertorius began to think his presence of no importance, as he saw their affairs under a miserable direction, and that persons of the least understanding had most power. He was the more confirmed in this

* Qui deliberant desciverunt. TACIT.
† The *Bardiaei*.

opinion, when Sylla, encamped near Scipio, and amuſing him with careſſes, under pretence of an approaching peace, was all the while corrupting his troops. Sertorius advertiſed Scipio of it ſeveral times, and told him what the event would be, but he never liſtened to him.

Then giving up Rome for loſt, he retired with the utmoſt expedition into Spain; hoping, if he could get the government there into his hands, to be able to afford protection to ſuch of his friends as might be beaten in Italy. He met with dreadful ſtorms on his way, and when he came to the mountains adjoining to Spain, the Barbarians inſiſted that he ſhould pay toll, and purchaſe his paſſage over them. Thoſe that attended him were fired with indignation, and thought it an inſufferable thing for a Roman proconſul to pay toll to ſuch a crew of Barbarians. But he made light of the ſeeming diſgrace, and ſaid, "Time was the "thing he purchaſed, than which nothing in the world "could be more precious to a man engaged in great "attempts." He therefore ſatisfied the demands of the Mountaineers, and paſſed over into Spain without loſing a moment.

He found the country very populous, and abounding in youth fit for war, but at the ſame time the people, oppreſſed by the avarice and rapacity of former governors, were ill-diſpoſed towards any Roman government whatever. To remove this averſion, he tried to gain the better ſort by his affable and obliging manner, and the populace by lowering the taxes. But his excuſing them from providing quarters for the ſoldiers, was the moſt agreeable meaſure. For he ordered his men to paſs the winter in tents without the walls, and he ſet them the example. He did not, however, place his whole dependence upon the attachment of the Barbarians. Whatever Romans had ſettled there, and were fit to bear arms, he incorporated with his troops; he provided ſuch a variety of warlike machines, and built ſuch a number of ſhips, as

kept

kept the cities in awe: and though his addreſs was mild and gentle in peace, he made himſelf formidable by his preparations for war.

As ſoon as he was informed that Sylla had made himſelf maſter of Rome, and that the faction of Marius and Carbo was entirely ſuppreſſed, he concluded that an army would ſoon be ſent againſt him under the conduct of an able general. For this reaſon he ſent Julius Salinator, with ſix thouſand foot, to block up the paſſes of the Pyrenees. In a little time Caius Annius arrived on the part of Sylla; and ſeeing it impoſſible to diſlodge Salinator, he ſate down at the foot of the mountain, not knowing how to proceed. While he was in this perplexity, one Calpurnius, ſurnamed Lanarius, aſſaſſinated Salinator, and his troops thereupon quitting the Pyrenees, Annius paſſed them, eaſily repulſing with his great army the few that oppoſed him. Sertorius, not being in a condition to give him battle, retired with three thouſand men to New Carthage; where he embarked, and croſſed over to Africa. The Mauruſian coaſt was the land he touched upon; and his men going on ſhore there to water, and not being upon their guard, the Barbarians fell upon them, and killed a conſiderable number; ſo that he was forced to make back for Spain. He found the coaſts guarded, and that it was impracticable to make a deſcent there; but having met with ſome veſſels of Cilician pirates, he perſuaded them to join him, and made his landing good in the Iſle of * Pityuſa, forcing his way through the guards which Annius had placed there.

Soon after, Annius made his appearance with a numerous fleet, on board of which were five thouſand men. Sertorius ventured to engage him; though his veſſels were ſmall, and made rather for ſwift ſailing than ſtrength. But a violent weſt-wind ſpringing up, raiſed ſuch a ſtorm, that the greateſt part of Sertorius's

* Now *Ivica*,

ſhips,

ſhips, being too light to bear up againſt it, were driven upon the rocky ſhore. Sertorius himſelf was prevented by the ſtorm from making his way at ſea, and by the enemy from landing; ſo that he was toſſed about by the waves for ten days together, and at laſt eſcaped with great difficulty.

At length the wind abated, and he ran in among ſome ſcattered iſlands in that quarter. There he landed; but finding they were without water, he put to ſea again, croſſed the Straits of Gader, and keeping to the right, landed a little above the mouth of the river Bætis, which running through a large track to diſcharge itſelf in the Atlantic Ocean, gives name to all that part of Spain * through which it paſſes. There he found ſome mariners lately arrived from the † Atlantic Iſlands. Theſe are two in number, ſeparated only by a narrow channel, and are at the diſtance of ‡ four hundred leagues from the African coaſt. They are called the *Fortunate Iſlands*. Rain ſeldom falls there, and when it does, it falls moderately; but they generally have ſoft breezes, which ſcatter ſuch rich dews, that the ſoil is not only good for ſowing and planting, but ſpontaneouſly produces the moſt excellent fruits, and theſe in ſuch abundance, that the inhabitants have nothing more to do than to indulge themſelves in the enjoyment of eaſe. The air is always pleaſant and ſalubrious, through the happy temperature of the ſeaſons, and their inſenſible tranſition into each other. For the north and eaſt winds which blow from our continent, in the immenſe track they have to paſs, are diſſipated and loſt: while the ſea winds, that is, the ſouth and the weſt, bring with them from the ocean ſlight and gentle ſhowers, but oftener only a refreſhing moiſture, which imperceptibly ſcatters plenty on their plains. So that it is generally believed, even among the Barbarians, that theſe are the Elyſian

* *Bætica*, now *Andaluſia*.
† The Canaries.
‡ In the original, *ten thouſand furlongs*.

Fields,

Fields, and the Seats of the Bleſſed *, which Homer has deſcribed in all the charms of verſe.

Sertorius hearing theſe wonders, conceived a ſtrong deſire to fix himſelf in thoſe iſlands, where he might live in perfect tranquillity, at a diſtance from the evils of tyranny and war. The Cilicians, who wanted neither peace nor repoſe, but riches and ſpoils, no ſooner perceived this, than they bore away for Africa, to reſtore Aſcalis the ſon of Iphtha to the throne of Mauritania. Sertorius, far from giving himſelf up to deſpair, reſolved to go and aſſiſt the people who were at war with Aſcalis, in order to open to his troops another proſpect in this new employment, and to prevent their relinquiſhing him for want of ſupport. His arrival was very acceptable to the *Moors*, and he ſoon beat Aſcalis in a pitched battle; after which he beſieged him in the place to which he retired.

Hereupon, Sylla interpoſed, and ſent Pæcianus with a conſiderable force to the aſſiſtance of Aſcalis. Sertorius meeting him in the field, defeated and killed him; and having incorporated his troops with his own, aſſaulted and took the city of † Tingis, whither Aſcalis and his brothers had fled for refuge. The Africans tell us, the body of Antæus lies there; and Sertorius, not giving credit to what the Barbarians related of his gigantic ſize, opened his tomb for ſatisfaction. But how great was his ſurprize, when (according to the account we have of it) he beheld a body ſixty cubits long ‡. He immediately offered ſacrifices, and cloſed

* Odyſſ. 4.

† In the text *Tingene*. Strabo tells us, the Barbarians call it *Tinga*, that Artemidorus gives it the name of *Linga*, and Eratoſthenes that of *Lixus*.

‡ If it did not appear from Strabo that Plutarch has here only copied the fable of Gabinius concerning the ſtature of Antæus, we ſhould be inclined to think that there was an error in the text, and that inſtead of ἑξηκοῦθ᾽ we ſhould read ἐξ ἰχνοῦς, referring the participle to σωμαῦ immediately preceding. We the more readily give into this opinion, as the antiques of Hercules and Antæus do not repreſent the latter more in proportion, than half a cubit higher

up the tomb; which added greatly to the reſpect and reputation it had before.

The people of Tingis relate, that after the death of Antæus, Hercules took his widow Tinga to his bed, and had by her a ſon named Sophax, who reigned over that country, and founded a city to which he gave his mother's name. They add, that Diodorus, the ſon of Sophax, ſubdued many African nations with an army of Greeks, which he raiſed out of the colonies of Olbians and Myceneans ſettled here by Hercules. Theſe particulars we mention for the ſake of Juba, the beſt of all royal hiſtorians; for he is ſaid to have been a deſcendant of Sophax and Diodorus, the ſon and grandſon of Hercules.

Sertorius having thus cleared the field, did no ſort of harm to thoſe who ſurrendered themſelves or placed a confidence in him. He reſtored them their poſſeſſions and cities, and put the government in their hands again; taking nothing for himſelf but what they voluntarily offered him.

As he was deliberating which way he ſhould next turn his arms, the Luſitanians ſent ambaſſadors to invite him to take the command among them. For they wanted a general of his reputation and experience, to ſupport them againſt the terror of the Roman eagles; and he was the only one on whoſe character and firmneſs they could properly depend. Indeed, he is ſaid to have been proof againſt the impreſſions both of pleaſure and fear; intrepid in time of danger, and not too much elated with more proſperous fortune; in any great and ſudden attempt as daring as any general of his time, and where art and contrivance, as well as diſpatch, was neceſſary, for ſeizing a paſs or ſecuring a ſtrong hold, one of the greateſt maſters of ſtratagem in the world; noble and generous in rewarding great actions, and in puniſhing offences very moderate.

higher than the former. And if we are to believe, at the ſame time, that Hercules, after he had killed Antæus, had connections with his widow, that muſt confirm us in the altered reading.

It

It is true, his treatment of the Spaniſh hoſtages, in the latter part of his life, which bore ſuch ſtrong marks of cruelty and revenge, ſeems to argue that the clemency he ſhewed before, was not a real virtue in him, but only a pretended one, taken up to ſuit his occaſions. I think, indeed, that the virtue which is ſincere, and founded upon reaſon, can never be ſo conquered by any ſtroke whatever, as to give place to the oppoſite vice. Yet diſpoſitions naturally humane and good, by great and undeſerved calamities, may poſſibly be ſoured a little, and the man may change with his fortune. This, I am perſuaded, was the caſe of Sertorius; when fortune forſook him, his diſpoſition was ſharpened by diſappointment, and he became ſevere to thoſe who injured or betrayed him.

At preſent, having accepted the invitation to Luſitania, he took his voyage from Africa thither. Upon his arrival he was inveſted with full authority as general, and levied forces, with which he reduced the neighbouring provinces. Numbers voluntarily came over to him, on account of his reputation for clemency as well as the vigour of his proceedings. And to theſe advantages he added artifice to amuſe and gain the people.

That of the hind was none of the leaſt *. Spanus, a countryman who lived in thoſe parts, happening to fall in with a hind which had newly eaned, and which was flying from the hunters, failed in his attempt to take her; but, charmed with the uncommon colour of the fawn, which was a perfect white, he purſued and took it. By good fortune Sertorius had his camp in that neighbourhood; and whatever was brought to him taken in hunting, or of the productions of the field, he received with pleaſure, and returned the civility with intereſt. The countryman went and offered him the fawn. He received this preſent like the reſt, and at firſt took no extraordinary notice of it.

* Sertorius had learnt theſe arts of Marius.

But

But in time it became ſo tractable and fond of him, that it would come when he called, follow him wherever he went, and learnt to bear the hurry and tumult of the camp. By little and little he brought the people to believe there was ſomething ſacred and myſterious in the affair; giving it out that the fawn was a gift from Diana, and that it diſcovered to him many important ſecrets. For he knew the natural power of ſuperſtition over the minds of the Barbarians. In purſuance of his ſcheme, when the enemy was making a private irruption into the country under his command, or perſuading ſome city to revolt, he pretended the fawn had appeared to him in a dream, and warned him to have his forces ready. And if he had intelligence of ſome victory gained by his officers, he uſed to conceal the meſſenger, and produce the fawn crowned with flowers for its good tidings; bidding the people rejoice and ſacrifice to the gods, on account of ſome news they would ſoon hear.

By this invention he made them ſo tractable, that they obeyed his orders in every thing without heſitation, no longer conſidering themſelves as under the conduct of a ſtranger, but the immediate direction of Heaven. And the aſtoniſhing increaſe of his power, far beyond all they could rationally expect, confirmed them in that perſuaſion. For, with two thouſand ſix hundred men, whom he called Romans, (though among them there were ſeven hundred Africans who came over with him,) and an addition of four thouſand light-armed Luſitanians and ſeven hundred horſe, he carried on the war againſt four Roman generals, who had a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, two thouſand archers and ſlingers, and cities without number under their command; though at firſt he had twenty cities only. Nevertheleſs, with ſo trifling a force, and ſuch ſmall beginnings, he ſubdued ſeveral great nations, and took many cities. Of the generals that oppoſed him, he beat Cotta at ſea in the

the Straits over against Mellaria; he defeated * Phidius who had the chief command in Bætica, and killed four thousand Romans upon the banks of the Bætis. By his quæstor he beat Domitius and † Lucius Manlius, proconsul of the other Spain; he likewise slew ‡ Thoranius, one of the officers sent against him by Metellus, together with his whole army. Nay, Metellus himself, a general of as great reputation as any the Romans then had, was entangled by him in such difficulties, and reduced to such extremities, that he was forced to call in Lucius Lollius from Gallia Narbonensis to his assistance, and Pompey the Great was sent with another army from Rome with the utmost expedition. For Metellus knew not what measures to take against so daring an enemy, who was continually harrassing him, and yet would not come to a pitched battle, and who, by the lightness and activity of his Spanish troops, turned himself into all manner of forms. He was sufficiently skilled, indeed, in set battles, and he commanded a firm heavy-armed infantry, which knew how to repulse and bear down any thing that would make head against them, but had no experience in climbing mountains, or capacity to vye in flying and pursuing with men as swift as the wind; nor could his troops bear hunger, eat any thing undressed, or lie upon the ground without tents, like those of Sertorius. Besides, Metellus was now advanced in years, and after his many campaigns and long service, had begun to indulge himself in a more

* Xylander has it *Didius*, which is agreeable to some manuscripts; Cruserius, upon conjecture only, reads it *Aufidius*. But, as the learned Moses Du Soul observes, there is a corrupt and insignificant πυ in the text,—Κατεναυμαχησεν πυ Φιδιον δι—and thence he concludes, with some degree of probability, that we should read *Furfidius*. Freinshem, in his Supplement to Livy (xc. 28.) calls this General *Furfidius*; and he might do it upon the authority of some ancient manuscript of Plutarch.

† *Lusius* in the text again is corrupt. We read it Lucius Manlius from Orosius and Livy.

‡ Florus has it *Thorius*.

delicate

delicate way of living: whereas Sertorius was in the vigour of his age, full of ſpirits, and had brought his ſtrength and activity to the greateſt perfection, by exerciſe and abſtemiouſneſs. He never indulged in wine, even when he had nothing elſe to do; and he had accuſtomed himſelf to bear labour and fatigue, to make long marches, and paſs many ſucceſſive nights without ſleep, though ſupported all the while with mean and ſlender diet. By beſtowing his leiſure on hunting, and traverſing all the country for game, he had gained ſuch a knowledge of the impracticable as well as open parts of it, that when he wanted to fly, he found no manner of difficulty in it, and if he had occaſion to purſue or ſurround the enemy, he could execute it with eaſe.

Hence it was, that Metellus, in being prevented from coming to any regular action, ſuffered all the inconveniencies of a defeat; and Sertorius gained as much by flying, as he could have done by conquering and purſuing. For he cut his adverſary off from water, and prevented his foraging. If the Romans began to march, he was on the wing to harraſs them; and if they ſate ſtill, he galled them in ſuch a manner, that they were forced to quit their poſt. If they inveſted a town, he was ſoon upon them, and by cutting off their convoys, as it were beſieged the beſiegers: inſomuch that they began to give up the point, and to call upon Metellus to accept the challenge that Sertorius had given; inſiſting that general ſhould fight with general, and Roman with Roman; and when he declined it, they ridiculed and abuſed him. Metellus only laughed at them, and he did perfectly right; for, as Theophraſtus ſays, "A general ſhould die like a "general, and not like a common ſoldier."

He found that the Langobritæ were very ſerviceable to Sertorius, and perceived, at the ſame time, that he might ſoon bring them to ſurrender for want of water; for they had but one well in the city, and an enemy might immediately make himſelf maſter of the ſprings

in

in the ſuburbs, and under the walls. He therefore advanced againſt the town; but concluding he ſhould take it within two days, he ordered his troops to take only five days proviſions with them. But Sertorius gave the people ſpeedy aſſiſtance. He got two thouſand ſkins and filled them with water, promiſing a good reward for the care of each veſſel or ſkin. A number of Spaniards and Moors offered their ſervice on this occaſion; and having ſelected the ſtrongeſt and ſwifteſt of them, he ſent them along the mountains, with orders, when they delivered theſe veſſels, to take all uſeleſs perſons out of the town, that the water might be fully ſufficient for the reſt during the whole courſe of the ſiege.

When Metellus was informed of this manœuvre, he was greatly concerned at it; and, as his proviſions began to fail, he ſent out * Aquilius with ſix thouſand men to collect freſh ſupplies. Sertorius, who had early intelligence of it, laid an ambuſh for Aquilius, and upon his return, three thouſand men, who were placed in the ſhady channel of a brook for the purpoſe, roſe up and attacked him in the rear. At the ſame time Sertorius himſelf charging him in front, killed a conſiderable number of his party, and took the reſt priſoners. Aquilius got back to Metellus, but with the loſs both of his horſe and his arms; whereupon Metellus retired with diſgrace, greatly inſulted and ridiculed by the Spaniards.

This ſucceſs procured Sertorius the admiration and eſteem of the Spaniards; but, what charmed them ſtill more, was, that he armed them in the Roman manner, taught them to keep their ranks, and to obey the word of command; ſo that, inſtead of exerting their ſtrength in a ſavage and diſorderly manner, and behaving like a multitude of banditti, he poliſhed them into regular forces. Another agreeable circumſtance

* The common reading in the Greek text is *Aquinus*, but the manuſcripts give us *Aquilius*.

was, that he furniſhed them with abundance of gold and ſilver to gild their helmets, and enrich their ſhields; and that he taught them to wear embroidered veſts, and magnificent coats; nor did he give them ſupplies only for theſe purpoſes, but he ſet them the example*. The finiſhing ſtroke was, his collecting, from the various nations, the children of the nobility into the great city of † Oſea, and his furniſhing them with maſters to inſtruct them in the Grecian and Roman literature. This had the appearance only of an education, to prepare them to be admitted citizens of Rome, and to fit them for important commiſſions; but in fact, the children were ſo many hoſtages. Meanwhile the parents were delighted to ſee their ſons in gowns bordered with purple, and walking in great ſtate to the ſchools, without any expence to them. For Sertorius took the whole upon himſelf, often examining beſides into the improvements they made, and diſtributing proper rewards to thoſe of moſt merit, among which were the golden ornaments furling down from the neck, called by the Romans *Bullæ*.

It was then the cuſtom in Spain, for the band which fought near the general's perſon, when he fell, to die with him. This manner of devoting themſelves to death, the Barbarians call a ‡ *Libation*. The other generals had but a few of theſe guards or knights companions; whereas Sertorius was attended by many myriads, who had laid themſelves under that obligation. It is ſaid, that when he was once defeated near the walls of a town, and the enemy were preſſing hard upon him, the Spaniards, to ſave Sertorius, expoſed themſelves without any precaution. They paſſed him upon their ſhoulders, from one to another, till he had

* Alexander had taken the ſame method, before him, among the Perſians. For he ordered thirty thouſand Perſian boys to be taught Greek, and trained in the Macedonian manner.

† A city in Hiſpania Tarraconenſis.

‡ In Gaul, the perſons who laid themſelves under this obligation, were called *Soldarii*. Cæs. de Bell. Gall. l. iii.

gained

gained the walls, and when their general was ſecure, then they diſperſed and fled for their own lives.

Nor was he beloved by the Spaniſh ſoldiers only, but by thoſe which came from Italy too. When Perpenna Vento, who was of the ſame party with Sertorius, came into Spain with a great quantity of money, and a reſpectable army, intending to proceed in his operations againſt Metellus upon his own bottom; the troops diſliked the ſcheme, and nothing was talked of in the camp but Sertorius. This gave great uneaſineſs to Perpenna, who was much elated with his high birth and opulent fortune. Nor did the matter ſtop here. Upon their having intelligence that Pompey had paſſed the Pyrenees, the ſoldiers took up their arms and ſtandards, and loudly called upon Perpenna to lead them to Sertorius; threatening, if he would not comply, to leave him, and go to a general who knew how to ſave both himſelf and thoſe under his command. So that Perpenna was forced to yield, and he went and joined Sertorius with fifty three * cohorts.

Sertorius now found himſelf at the head of a great army; for, beſide the junction of Perpenna, all the countries within the Iberus had adopted his intereſt, and troops were daily flocking in on all ſides. But it gave him pain to ſee them behave with the diſorder and ferocity of Barbarians; to find them calling upon him to give the ſignal to charge, and impatient of the leaſt delay. He tried what mild repreſentations would do, and they had no effect. They ſtill continued obſtinate and clamorous, often demanding the combat in a very unſeaſonable manner. At laſt he permitted them to engage in their own way, in conſequence of which they would ſuffer great loſs, though he deſigned to prevent their being entirely defeated. Theſe checks, he hoped, would make them more willing to be under diſcipline.

The event anſwered his expectation. They fought and were beaten; but making up with ſuccours, he

* A cohort is the tenth part of a legion.

rallied the fugitives, and conducted them ſafe into the camp. His next ſtep was to rouſe them out of their deſpondence. For which purpoſe, a few days after, he aſſembled all his forces, and produced two horſes before them; the one old and feeble, the other large and ſtrong, and remarkable beſides for a fine flowing tail. By the poor weak horſe ſtood a robuſt able-bodied man, and by the ſtrong horſe ſtood a little man of a very contemptible appearance. Upon a ſignal given, the ſtrong man began to pull and drag about the weak horſe by the tail, as if he would pull it off; and the little man to pluck off the hairs of the great horſe's tail, one by one. The former tugged and toiled a long time to the great diverſion of the ſpectators, and at laſt was forced to give up the point; the latter, without any difficulty, ſoon * ſtripped the great horſe's tail of all its hair. Then Sertorius roſe up, and ſaid, "You ſee, my friends and fellow-ſoldiers, how much "greater are the effects of perſeverance, than thoſe of "force, and that there are many things invincible in "their collective capacity and in a ſtate of union, "which may gradually be overcome when they are "once ſeparated. In ſhort, perſeverance is irreſiſtible. "By this means, time attacks and deſtroys the "ſtrongeſt things upon earth. Time, I ſay, who is "the beſt friend and ally to thoſe that have the diſ-"cernment to uſe it properly, and watch the oppor-"tunities it preſents, and the worſt enemy to thoſe "who will be ruſhing into action when it does not call "them." By ſuch ſymbols as theſe, Sertorius applied to the ſenſes of the Barbarians, and inſtructed them to wait for proper junctures and occaſions.

But his contrivance with reſpect to the Characitani gained him as much admiration, as any of his military performances whatever. The Characitani are ſeated beyond the river Tagus. They have neither cities nor villages, but dwell upon a large and lofty hill, in dens and caverns of the rocks, the mouths of which are all

* Horace alludes to this, l. ii. ep. 1.

to

to the north. The ſoil of all the country about it is a clay, ſo very light and crumbly, that it yields to the preſſure of the foot, is reduced to powder with the leaſt touch, and flies about like aſhes or unſlaked lime. The Barbarians, whenever they are apprehenſive of an attack, retire to theſe caves with their booty, and look upon themſelves as in a place perfectly impregnable.

It happened that Sertorius retiring to ſome diſtance from Metellus, encamped under this hill; and the ſavage inhabitants imagining he retired only becauſe he was beaten, offered him ſeveral inſults. Sertorius, either provoked at ſuch treatment, or willing to ſhew them he was not flying from any enemy, mounted his horſe the next day, and went to reconnoitre the place. As he could ſee no part in which it was acceſſible, he almoſt deſpaired of taking it, and could only vent his anger in vain menaces. At laſt he obſerved, that the wind blew the duſt in great quantities towards the mouths of the caves, which, as I ſaid before, are all to the north. The north wind, which ſome call *Cæcias**, prevails moſt in thoſe parts; taking its riſe from the marſhy grounds, and the mountains covered with ſnow. And as it was then the height of ſummer, it was remarkably ſtrong, having freſh ſupplies from the melting of the ice on the northern peaks; ſo that it blew a moſt agreeable gale, which in the day-time refreſhed both theſe ſavages and their flocks.

Sertorius reflecting upon what he ſaw, and being informed by the neighbouring Spaniards that theſe were the uſual appearances, ordered his ſoldiers to collect vaſt quantities of that dry and crumbly earth, ſo as to raiſe a mount of it over againſt the hill. The Barbatians imagining he intended to ſtorm their ſtrong-holds from that mount, laughed at his proceedings. The ſoldiers went on with their work till night, and then he

* Mediâ inter Aquilonem et Exortum Æquinoctialem. Plin. l. ii. c. 47.

Narrant et in Ponto Cæcian in ſe trahere nubes. Ib.

led them back into the camp. Next morning, at break of day, a gentle breeze ſprung up, which moved the lighteſt part of the heap, and diſperſed it like ſmoke; and as the ſun got up higher, the *Cæcias* blew again, and by its violence covered all the hill with duſt. Meantime the ſoldiers ſtirred up the heap from the very bottom, and crumbled all the clay; and ſome galloped up and down to raiſe the light earth, and thicken the clouds of duſt in the wind; which carried them into the dwellings of the Characitani; their entrances directly facing it. And as they were caves, and, of courſe, had no other aperture, the eyes of the inhabitants were ſoon filled, and they could ſcarce breathe for the ſuffocating duſt which they drew in with the air. In theſe wretched circumſtances they held out two days, though with great difficulty, and the third day ſurrendered themſelves to Sertorius at diſcretion; who, by reducing them, did not gain ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength as of honour. For an honour it was to ſubdue thoſe by policy, whom his arms could not reach.

While he carried on the war againſt Metellus only, his ſucceſs in general was imputed to the old age and inactivity of his adverſary, who had to contend with a bold young man, at the head of troops ſo light, that they might paſs rather for a marauding party, than a regular army. But when Pompey had paſſed the Pyrenees, and Sertorius took poſt againſt him, every art of generalſhip on both ſides was exhauſted, and yet even then it appeared, that in point both of attack and defence, Sertorius had the advantage. In this caſe, the fame of Sertorius greatly increaſed, and extended itſelf as far as Rome, where he was conſidered as the ableſt general of his time. Indeed, the honour Pompey had acquired, was very conſiderable, and the actions he had performed under Sylla, ſet him in a very reſpectable light, inſomuch that Sylla had given him the appellation of *the Great*, and he was diſtinguiſhed with a triumph, even before he wrote man.

This

This made many of the cities, which were under the command of Sertorius, caſt their eyes upon Pompey, and inclined them to open their gates to him. But they retired to their old attachment, upon the unexpected ſucceſs that attended Sertorius at Lauron *.

Sertorius was beſieging that place, and Pompey marched with his whole army to its relief. There was a hill at ſome diſtance from the walls, from which the city might be greatly annoyed. Sertorius haſtened to ſeize it, and Pompey to prevent him; but the former gained the poſt. Pompey, however, ſate down by it with great ſatisfaction, thinking he had been fortunate enough to cut Sertorius off from the town; and he ſent a meſſage to the Lauronites, "that they might be "perfectly eaſy, and ſit quietly upon their walls, while "they ſaw him beſiege Sertorius." But when that general was informed of it, he only laughed, and ſaid, "I will teach that ſcholar of Sylla," (ſo in ridicule he called Pompey,) "that a general ought to look behind "him, rather than before him." At the ſame time he ſhewed the beſieged a body of ſix thouſand foot in the camp which he had quitted, in order to ſeize the hill, and which had been left there on purpoſe to take Pompey in the rear, when he ſhould come to attack Sertorius in the poſt he now occupied.

Pompey, not diſcovering this manœuvre till it was too late, did not dare to begin the attack, leſt he ſhould be ſurrounded. And yet he was aſhamed to leave the Lauronites in ſuch extreme danger. The conſequence was, that he was obliged to ſit ſtill and ſee the town loſt. The people, in deſpair of aſſiſtance, ſurrendered to Sertorius, who was pleaſed to ſpare the inhabitants, and let them go free; but he laid their city in aſhes. This was not done out of anger, or a ſpirit of cruelty, (for he ſeems to have indulged his reſentment leſs than any other general whatever) but to put the admirers of Pompey to the bluſh; while it was ſaid among the Barbarians, that though he was at

* A city of hither Spain, five leagues from Valencia.

hand, and almoſt warmed himſelf at the flame, he ſuffered his allies to periſh.

It is true, Sertorius received many checks in the courſe of the war; but it was not where he acted in perſon; for he ever continued invincible; it was through his lieutenants. And ſuch was his manner of rectifying the miſtakes, that he met with more applauſe, than his adverſaries in the midſt of their ſucceſs. Inſtances of which, we have in the battle of Sucro with Pompey, and in that of * Tuttia with both Pompey and Metellus.

As to the battle of Sucro, we are told it was fought the ſooner, becauſe Pompey haſtened it, to prevent Metellus from having a ſhare in the victory. This was the very thing Sertorius wanted; to try his ſtrength with Pompey, before Metellus joined him. Sertorius came up and engaged him in the evening. This he did out of choice, in the perſuaſion that the enemy, not being acquainted with the country, would find darkneſs a hinderance to them, whether they ſhould have occaſion to fly or to purſue. When they came to charge, he found that he had not to do with Pompey, as he could have wiſhed, but that Afranius commanded the enemy's left wing, oppoſite to *him*, who was at the head of his own right wing. However, as ſoon as he underſtood that his left gave way to the vigorous impreſſions of Pompey, he put his right under the direction of other officers, and haſtened to ſupport that which had the diſadvantage. By rallying the fugitives, and encouraging thoſe who kept their ground, he forced Pompey to fly in great confuſion, who before was purſuing: nay, that general was in the greateſt danger; he was wounded, and got off with difficulty. For the Africans, who fought under the banners of Sertorius, having taken Pompey's horſe, adorned with gold and other rich furniture, left the purſuit, to quarrel about dividing the ſpoil. In the mean time,

* Grævius conjectures, that we ſhould read *Turta*, the *Turius* being a river which falls into the Sucro.

when

when Sertorius was flown from his right wing to ſuccour the other in diſtreſs, Afranius overthrew all before him, and cloſely purſuing the fugitives, entered their camp with them, which he pillaged till it was dark; he knew nothing of Pompey's defeat, and was unable to keep the ſoldiers from plundering, if he had deſired it. At this inſtant, Sertorius returns with the laurels he had won, falls upon the troops of Afranius which were ſcattered up and down the camp, and deſtroys great numbers of them. Next morning he armed, and took the field again; but perceiving that Metellus was at hand, he drew off and decamped. He did it, however, with an air of gaiety: "If the old woman," ſaid he, "had not been here, I would "have flogged the boy well, and ſent him back to "Rome."

He was, notwithſtanding, much afflicted for the loſs of his hind. For ſhe was an excellent engine in the management of the Barbarians, who now wanted encouragement more than ever. By good fortune ſome of his ſoldiers, as they were ſtrolling one night about the country, met with her, and knowing her by the colour, brought her to him. Sertorius, happy to find her again, promiſed the ſoldiers large ſums, on condition they would not mention the affair. He carefully concealed the hind; and a few days after appeared in public with a chearful countenance to tranſact buſineſs, telling the Barbarian officers that he had ſome extraordinary happineſs announced to him from Heaven in a dream. Then he mounted the tribunal, for the diſpatch of ſuch affairs as might come before him. At that inſtant the hind being let looſe near the place by thoſe who had the charge of her, and ſeeing Sertorius, ran up with great joy, leaped upon the tribunal, laid her head upon his lap, and licked his right hand, in the manner to which ſhe had long been trained. Sertorius returned her careſſes with all the tokens of a ſincere affection, even to the ſhedding of tears. The aſſembly at firſt looked on with ſilent aſtoniſhment: but after-

afterwards they teſtified their regard for Sertorius with the loudeſt plaudits and acclamations, as a perſon of a ſuperior nature beloved by the gods. With theſe impreſſions they conducted him to his pavilion, and reſumed all the hopes and ſpirits with which he could have wiſhed to inſpire them.

He watched the enemy ſo cloſe in the plains of Saguntum, that they were in great want of proviſions; and as they were determined at laſt to go out to forage and collect neceſſaries, this unavoidably brought on a battle. Great acts of valour were performed on both ſides. Memmius, the beſt officer Pompey had, fell in the hotteſt of the fight. Sertorius carried all before him, and through heaps of the ſlain made his way towards Metellus, who made great efforts to oppoſe him, and fought with a vigour above his years, but at laſt was borne down with the ſtroke of a ſpear. All the Romans who ſaw or heard of this diſaſter, reſolved not to abandon their general, and from an impulſe of ſhame as well as anger, they turned upon the enemy, and ſheltered Metellus with their ſhields, till others carried him off in ſafety. Then they charged the Spaniards with great fury, and routed them in their turn.

As victory had now changed ſides, Sertorius, to ſecure a ſafe retreat for his troops, as well as convenient time for raiſing freſh forces, had the art to retire into a city ſtrongly ſituated upon a mountain. He repaired the walls, and barricadoed the gates, though he thought of nothing leſs than ſtanding a ſiege. The enemy, however, were deceived by appearances. They inveſted the place, and, in the imagination that they ſhould make themſelves maſters of it without difficulty, took no care to purſue the fugitive Barbarians, or to prevent the new levies which the officers of Sertorius were making. Theſe officers he had ſent to the towns under his command, with inſtructions, when they had aſſembled a ſufficient number, to ſend a meſſenger to acquaint him with it.

Upon

Upon the receipt of ſuch intelligence, he ſallied out, and having made his way through the enemy without much trouble, he joined his new-raiſed troops, and returned with that additional ſtrength. He now cut off the Roman convoys both by ſea and land: at land, by laying ambuſhes or hemming them in, and, by the rapadity of his motions, meeting them in every quarter: at ſea, by guarding the coaſt with his light piratical veſſels. In conſequence of this, the Romans were obliged to ſeparate. Metellus retired into Gaul, and Pompey went and took up his winter-quarters in the territories of the Vacceians, where he was greatly diſtreſſed for want of money; inſomuch that he informed the ſenate, he ſhould ſoon leave the country, if they did not ſupply him; for he had already ſacrificed his own fortune in the defence of Italy. Indeed, the common diſcourſe was, that Sertorius would be in Italy before Pompey. So far had his capacity prevailed over the moſt diſtinguiſhed and the ableſt generals in Rome.

The opinion which Metellus had of him, and the dread of his abilities, was evident from a proclamation then publiſhed; by which Metellus offered a reward of an hundred talents of ſilver, and twenty thouſand acres of land, to any Roman who ſhould take him; and, if that Roman was an exile, he promiſed he ſhould be reſtored to his country. Thus he plainly diſcovered his deſpair of conquering his enemy, by the price which he ſet upon him. When he happened once to defeat him in a pitched battle, he was ſo elated with the advantage, and thought the event ſo fortunate, that he ſuffered himſelf to be ſaluted as *Imperator*; and the cities received him with ſacrifices and every teſtimony of gratitude to the gods at their altars. Nay, it is ſaid, he received crowns of victory, that he made moſt magnificent entertainments on the occaſion, and wore a triumphal robe. Victories, in effigy, deſcended in machines, with trophies of gold and garlands in their hands; and choirs of boys and virgins ſung ſongs in his

his praiſe. Theſe circumſtances were extremely ridiculous, if he expreſſed ſo much joy and ſuch ſuperabundant vanity, while he called Sertorius a fugitive from Sylla, and the poor remains of Carbo's faction.

On the other hand, the magnanimity of Sertorius appeared in every ſtep he took. The Patricians, who had been obliged to fly from Rome, and take refuge with him, he called a ſenate. Out of them he appointed quæſtors and lieutenants, and in every thing proceeded according to the laws of his country. What was of ſtill greater moment, though he made war only with the arms, the money, and the men of Spain, he did not ſuffer the Spaniards to have the leaſt ſhare in any department of government, even in words or titles. He gave them Roman generals and governors; to make it appear that the liberty of Rome was his great object, and that he did not want to ſet up the Spaniards againſt the Romans. In fact, he was a true lover of his country, and his paſſion to be reſtored to it, was one of the firſt in his heart. Yet, in his greateſt misfortunes, he never departed from his dignity. On the other hand, when he was victorious, he would make an offer to Metellus or Pompey, to lay down his arms, on condition he might be permitted to return in the capacity of a private man. He ſaid, he had rather be the meaneſt citizen in Rome, than an exile with the command of all the other countries in the world.

This love of his country is ſaid to have been in ſome meaſure owing to the attachment he had to his mother. His father died in his infancy, and he had his education wholly from her; conſequently his affections centered in her. His Spaniſh friends wanted to conſtitute him ſupreme governor; but having information at that time of the death of his mother, he gave himſelf up to the moſt alarming grief. For ſeven whole days he neither gave the word, nor would be ſeen by any of his friends. At laſt, his generals, and others who were upon a footing with him in point of rank, beſet his tent,

tent, and inſiſted that he ſhould riſe from the ground and make his appearance, to ſpeak to the ſoldiers, and to take the direction of their affairs, which were then as proſperous as he could deſire. Hence many imagined, that he was naturally of a pacific turn, and a lover of tranquillity, but was brought againſt his inclination, by ſome means or other, to take upon him the command; and that when he was hard preſſed by his enemies, and had no other ſhelter but that of war to fly to, he had recourſe to it merely in the way of ſelf-defence.

We cannot have greater proofs of his magnanimity, than thoſe that appear in his treaty with Mithridates. That prince recovering from the fall given him by Sylla, entered the liſts again, and renewed his pretenſions to Aſia. By this time the fame of Sertorius had extended itſelf into all parts of the world. The merchants who traded to the weſt, carried back news of his atchievements, like commodities from a diſtant country, and filled Pontus with his renown. Hereupon Mithridates determined to ſend an embaſſy to him; induced to it by the vain ſpeeches of his flatterers, who compared Sertorius to Hannibal, and Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and inſiſted that the Romans would never be able to bear up againſt two ſuch powers and two perſons of ſuch genius and abilities, when attacked by them in different quarters; the one being the moſt excellent of generals, and the other the greateſt of kings.

In purſuance of this ſcheme, Mithridates ſent ambaſſadors into Spain, with letters to Sertorius, and propoſals to be made in conference; the purport of which was, that the king would ſupply him with money and ſhips for the war, on condition that he confirmed his claim to Aſia, which he had lately given up to the Romans in the treaty with Sylla.

Sertorius aſſembled his council, which he called *the ſenate*. They were unanimous in their opinions, that he ſhould accept the conditions, and think himſelf happy

happy in them; ſince they were only aſked an empty name and title to things which it was not in their power to give, and the king in return would ſupply them with what they moſt wanted. But Sertorius would by no means agree to it. He ſaid, he had no objection to that prince's having Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries accuſtomed to kingly government, and not belonging to the Romans by any juſt title; but as to a province to which the Romans had an undeniable claim; a province which they had been deprived of by Mithridates, which he afterwards loſt to Fimbria, and at laſt had quitted upon the peace with Sylla, he could never conſent that he ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of it again. "Rome," ſaid he, "ought to "have her power extended by my victories, and it is "not my right to riſe to power at her expence. A "man who has any dignity of ſentiment, ſhould con-"quer with honour, and not uſe any baſe means even "to ſave his life."

Mithridates was perfectly aſtoniſhed at this anſwer, and thus communicated his ſurprize to his friends: "What orders would Sertorius give us, when ſeated "in the ſenate-houſe at Rome, if now, driven as he is "to the coaſts of the Atlantic Ocean, he preſcribes "bounds to our empire, and threatens us with war if "we make any attempt upon Aſia?" The treaty, however, went on, and was ſworn to. Mithridates was to have Cappadocia and Bithynia, and Sertorius to ſupply him with a general and ſome troops; the king, on the other hand, was to furniſh Sertorius with three thouſand talents, and forty ſhips of war.

The general whom Sertorius ſent into Aſia, was a ſenator who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius. When Mithridates, by his aſſiſtance, had taken ſome cities in Aſia, he permitted that officer to enter them with his rods and axes, and voluntarily took the ſecond place as one of his train. Marius declared ſome of thoſe cities free, and excuſed others from impoſts and taxes, telling them they were indebted

ed for theſe favours to Sertorius. So that Aſia, which laboured again under the exaction of the Roman tax-gatherers, and the oppreſſions and inſults of the garriſons, had once more a proſpect of ſome happier mode of government.

But in Spain, the ſenators about Sertorius, who looked upon themſelves as on a footing with him, no ſooner ſaw themſelves a match for the enemy, than they bade adieu to fear, and gave into a fooliſh jealouſy and envy of their general. At the head of theſe was Perpenna, who, elated with the vanity of birth, aſpired to the command, and ſcrupled not to addreſs his partizans in private with ſuch ſpeeches as theſe: "What "evil dæmon poſſeſſes us, and leads us from bad to "worſe? We, who would not ſtay at home and ſub-"mit to the orders of Sylla, who is maſter both of ſea "and land, what are we come to? Did we not come "here for liberty? Yet here we are voluntary ſlaves; "guards to the exiled Sertorius. We ſuffer ourſelves "to be amuſed with the title of a ſenate; a title deſpiſed "and ridiculed by all the world. O noble ſenators, "who ſubmit to the moſt mortifying taſks and labours, "as much as the meaneſt Spaniards and Luſita-"nians!"

Numbers were attacked with theſe and ſuch like diſcourſes; and though they did not openly revolt, becauſe they dreaded the power of Sertorius, yet they took private methods to ruin his affairs, by treating the Barbarians ill, inflicting heavy puniſhments, and collecting exorbitant ſubſidies, as if by his order. Hence the cities began to waver in their allegiance, and to raiſe diſturbances; and the perſons ſent to compoſe thoſe diſturbances by mild and gentle methods, made more enemies than they reconciled, and inflamed the riſing ſpirit of diſobedience: inſomuch that Sertorius, departing from his former clemency and moderation, behaved with great injuſtice and outrage to the children of the Spaniards in Oſea, putting ſome to death, and ſelling others for ſlaves.

The

The conſpiracy daily gathered ſtrength, and among the reſt Perpenna drew in * Manlius, who had a conſiderable command in the army. He and his partizans then prepared letters for Sertorius, which imported that a victory was gained by one of his officers, and great numbers of the enemy ſlain. Sertorius offered ſacrifice for the good tidings; and Perpenna gave him, and his own friends who were by, and who were all privy to the deſign, an invitation to ſupper, which with much intreaty he prevailed with him to accept.

The entertainments at which Sertorius was preſent, had been always attended with great order and decorum; for he could not bear either to ſee or hear the leaſt indecency, and he had ever accuſtomed the gueſts to divert themſelves in an innocent and irreproachable manner. But in the midſt of the entertainment, the conſpirators began to ſeek occaſion to quarrel, giving into the moſt diſſolute diſcourſe, and pretending drunkenneſs as the cauſe of their ribaldry. All this was done to provoke him. However, either vexed at their obſcenity, or gueſſing at their deſigns by the manner of their drawling them out, he changed his poſture, and threw himſelf back upon his couch, as though he neither heard nor regarded them. Then Perpenna took a cup of wine, and as he was drinking, purpoſely let it fall out of his hands. The noiſe it made being the ſignal for them to fall on, Antony, who ſate next to Sertorius, gave him a ſtroke with his ſword. Sertorius turned, and ſtrove to get up; but Antony throwing himſelf upon his breaſt, held both his hands; ſo that not being able in the leaſt to defend himſelf, the reſt of the conſpirators diſpatched him with many wounds.

Upon the firſt news of his death, moſt of the Spaniards abandoned Perpenna, and by their deputies ſurrendered themſelves to Pompey and Metellus. Perpenna attempted ſomething with thoſe that remained;

* Dacier thinks we ſhould read *Manius*, by which he means *Manius Antonius*, who gave Sertorius the firſt blow.

but

but though he had the uſe of all that Sertorius had prepared, he made ſo ill a figure, that it was evident he knew no more how to command, than how to obey. He gave Pompey battle, and was ſoon routed and taken priſoner. Nor in this laſt diſtreſs did he behave as became a general. He had the papers of Sertorius in his poſſeſſion, and he offered Pompey the ſight of original letters from men of conſular dignity, and the greateſt intereſt in Rome, by which they invited Sertorius into Italy, in conſequence of the deſire of numbers, who wanted a change in the preſent face of affairs, and a new adminiſtration.

Pompey, however, behaved not like a young man, but with all the marks of a ſolid and improved underſtanding, and by his prudence delivered Rome from a train of dreadful fears and new commotions. He collected all thoſe letters and the other papers of Sertorius, and burnt them, without either reading them himſelf, or ſuffering any other perſon to do it. As for Perpenna, he put him to death immediately, leſt he ſhould mention the names of thoſe who wrote the letters, and thence new ſeditions and troubles ſhould ariſe. Perpenna's accomplices met the ſame fate; ſome of them being brought to Pompey, and by him ordered to the block, and others who fled into Africa, ſhot by the Moors. None eſcaped but Aufidius, the rival of Manlius. Whether it was that he could not be found, or they thought him not worth the ſeeking, he lived to old age in a village of the Barbarians, wretchedly poor, and univerſally deſpiſed.

EUMENES.

DURIS the hiſtorian writes, that Eumenes the Cardian was the ſon of a poor waggoner in the Cherſoneſus, and yet that he had a * liberal education both as to learning and the exerciſes then in vogue. He ſays that while he was but a lad, Philip happening to be in Cardia, went to ſpend an hour of leiſure in ſeeing how the young men acquitted themſelves in the †*pancration*, and the boys in wreſtling. Among theſe Eumenes ſucceeded ſo well, and ſhewed ſo much activity and addreſs, that Philip was pleaſed with him, and took him into his train. But others aſſert, with a greater appearance of probability, that Philip preferred him on account of the ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality there were between him and the father of Eumenes.

After the death of Philip, he maintained the reputation of being equal to any of Alexander's officers in capacity, and in the honour with which he diſcharged his commiſſions; and though he had only the title of principal ſecretary, he was looked upon in as honourable a light, as the king's moſt intimate friends and counſellors; inſomuch, that he had the ſole direction of an Indian expedition, and upon the death of Hephæſtion, when Perdiccas had the poſt of that favourite, he ſucceeded Perdiecas ‡. Therefore, when

* There were public ſchools, where children of all conditions were taught without diſtinction.

† The *pancration* (as we have already obſerved) was a compoſition of wreſtling and boxing.

‡ In the printed text it is ὑπαρχίαν, *province*. But as we know of no government that Alexander gave Eumenes; ἱππαρχίαν, *command in the cavalry*, which is the reading in ſome manuſcripts, appears preferable. And Cornelius Nepos confirms it in theſe words, *Præfuit etiam alteri equitum alæ*.

Neopto-

Neoptolemus, who had been the principal armour-bearer, took upon him to ſay, after the death of Alexander, "that he had borne the ſhield and ſpear "of that monarch, and that Eumenes had only fol-"lowed with his eſcritore," the Macedonians only laughed at his vanity; knowing that, beſides other marks of honour, Alexander had thought Eumenes not unworthy his alliance. For Barſine, the daughter of Artabazus, who was the firſt lady Alexander took to his bed in Aſia, and who brought him a ſon named Hercules, had two ſiſters; one of which, called Apama, he gave to Ptolemy, and the other, called alſo Barſine, he gave to Eumenes, at the time when he was ſelecting Perſian ladies as wives for his friends *.

Yet it muſt be acknowledged, he was often in diſgrace with Alexander, and once or twice in danger too, on account of Hephæſtion. In the firſt place, Hephæſtion gave a muſician named Evius, the quarters which the ſervants of Eumenes had taken up for him. Upon this, Eumenes went in great wrath to Alexander, with † Mentor, and cried, "The beſt method "they could take, was to throw away their arms, and "learn to play upon the flute, or turn tragedians." Alexander at firſt entered into his quarrel, and ſharply rebuked Hephæſtion: But he ſoon changed his mind, and turned the weight of his diſpleaſure upon Eumenes; thinking he had behaved with more diſreſpect to him than reſentment againſt Hephæſtion.

* Alexander had married Statira, the eldeſt daughter of Darius, and given the youngeſt, named Drypetis, to Hephæſtion. This was a meaſure well calculated for eſtabliſhing him and his poſterity on the Perſian throne; but it was obnoxious to the Macedonians. Therefore, to ſupport it on one hand, and to obviate inconveniences on the other, he ſelected eighty virgins out of the moſt honourable families in Perſia, and perſuaded his principal friends and officers to marry them.

† Mentor was brother to Memnon, whoſe widow Barſine was Alexander's miſtreſs. He was alſo brother-in-law to Artabazus; and the ſecond Barſine, whom Eumenes married, ſeems to have been daughter to Memnon and Mentor's ſiſter.

Again; when Alexander wanted to ſend out Nearchus with a fleet to explore the coaſts of the ocean, he found his treaſury low, and aſked his friends for a ſupply. Among the reſt, he applied to Eumenes for three hundred talents, who offered him only a hundred, and aſſured him, at the ſame time, he ſhould find it difficult to collect that ſum by his ſtewards. Alexander refuſed the offer, but did not remonſtrate or complain. However, he ordered his ſervants privately to ſet fire to Eumenes's tent, that he might be forced to carry out his money, and be openly convicted of the falſity. It happened that the tent was entirely conſumed, and Alexander was ſorry on account of the loſs of his papers. There was gold and ſilver found melted, to the amount of more than a thouſand talents, yet even then the king took none of it. And having written to all his grandees and lieutenants to ſend him copies of the diſpatches that were loſt, upon their arrival he put them again under the care of Eumenes.

Some time after, another diſpute happened between him and Hephæſtion, on account of ſome preſent from the king to one of them. Much ſevere and abuſive language paſſed between them, yet Alexander, for the preſent, did not look upon Eumenes with the leſs regard. But, Hephæſtion dying ſoon after, the king, in his unſpeakable affliction for that loſs, expreſſed his reſentment againſt all who he thought envied that favourite while he lived, or rejoiced at his death. Eumenes was one of thoſe whom he moſt ſuſpected of ſuch ſentiments, and he often mentioned the differences, and the ſevere language thoſe differences had produced. Eumenes, however, being an artful man, and happy at expedients, made the very perſon through whom he had loſt the king's favour, the means of regaining it. He ſeconded the zeal and application of Alexander to celebrate the memory of Hephæſtion. He ſuggeſted ſuch inſtances of veneration as he thought might do moſt honour to the deceaſed, and

and contributed largely and freely, out of his own purſe, towards the expences of his funeral.

Upon the death of Alexander, a great quarrel broke out between the *phalanx* and the late king's friends and generals. Eumenes, in his heart, ſided with the *phalanx*, but in appearance ſtood neuter, as a perſon perfectly indifferent; ſaying, it did not become him, who was a ſtranger, to interfere in the diſputes of the Macedonians. And when the other great officers retired from Babylon, he ſtayed there, endeavouring to appeaſe that body of infantry, and to diſpoſe them to a reconciliation.

After theſe troubles were paſt, and the generals met to conſult about dividing the provinces and armies among them, the countries aſſigned Eumenes were Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, and the coaſt of the ſea of Pontus as far as Trapezus. Theſe countries were not then ſubject to the Macedonians, for Ariarathes was king of them; but Leonatus and Antigonus were to go with a great army, and put Eumenes in poſſeſſion. Antigonus, now elated with power, and deſpiſing all the world, gave no attention to the letters of Perdiccas. But Leonatus marched down from the upper provinces into Phrygia, and promiſed to undertake the expedition for Eumenes. Immediately after this, Hecatæus, a petty tyrant in Cardia, applied to Leonatus, and deſired him rather to go to the relief of Antipater and the Macedonians, who were beſieged in * Lamia. Leonatus being inclined to go, called Eumenes, and attempted to reconcile him to Hecatæus. They had long had ſuſpicions of each other on account of a family difference in point of politics; in conſequence of which Eumenes had openly accuſed Hecatæus of ſetting himſelf up tyrant in Cardia, and had intreated Alexander to reſtore that people to their liberty. He now deſired to be excuſed taking a ſhare in the Grecian expedition, alledging he was afraid Antipater, who had long hated

* A city of Theſſaly.

him, to gratify himſelf as well as Hecatæus, would make ſome attempt upon his life. Upon which, Leonatus, placing an entire confidence in him, opened to him all his heart. He told him the aſſiſting Antipater was nothing but a pretext, and that he deſigned, as ſoon as he landed in Greece, to aſſert his claim to Macedonia. At the ſame time he ſhewed him letters from Cleopatra *, in which ſhe invited him to Pella, and promiſed to give him her hand.

Whether Eumenes was really afraid of Antipater, or whether he deſpaired of any ſervice from Leonatus, who was extremely obſtinate in his temper, and followed every impulſe of a precipitate ambition, he withdrew from him in the night with all his equipage, which conſiſted of three hundred horſe, two hundred of his domeſtics well-armed, and all his treaſure, amounting to five thouſand talents. With this he fled to Perdiccas; and as he acquainted that general with the ſecret deſigns of Leonatus, he was immediately taken into a high degree of favour, and admitted to a ſhare in his councils. In a little time, too, Perdiccas in perſon conducted him into Cappadocia, with a great army; took Ariarathes priſoner, ſubdued all the country, and eſtabliſhed Eumenes in that government: in conſequence of which, Eumenes put the cities under the direction of his friends, placed guards and garriſons with proper officers at their head, and appointed judges and ſuperintendants of the revenue; Perdiccas leaving the entire diſpoſition of thoſe things to him. After this, he departed with Perdiccas; chuſing to give him that teſtimony of reſpect, and not thinking it conſiſtent with his intereſt to be abſent from his court. But Perdiccas, ſatisfied that he could himſelf execute the deſigns he was meditating, and perceiving that the provinces he had left behind, required an able and faithful guardian, ſent back Eumenes when he had reached Cilicia. The pretence was, that he might attend to the concerns of his own government; but the real

* The ſiſter of Alexander.

intention,

intention, that he ſhould ſecure the adjoining province of Armenia, which was diſturbed by the practices of Neoptolemus.

Neoptolemus was a man of ſanguine purſuits, and unbounded vanity. Eumenes, however, endeavoured to keep him to his duty, by ſoothing applications. And as he ſaw the Macedonian infantry were become extremely inſolent and audacious, he applied himſelf to raiſing a body of cavalry, which might be a counterpoiſe againſt them. For this purpoſe he remitted the taxes, and gave other immunities to thoſe of his province who were good horſemen. He alſo bought a great number of horſes, and diſtributed them among ſuch of his courtiers as he placed the greateſt confidence in; exciting them by honours and rewards, and training them to ſtrength and ſkill by a variety of exerciſes. The Macedonians upon this were differently affected, ſome with aſtoniſhment, and others with joy, to ſee a body of cavalry collected, to the number of ſix thouſand three hundred, and trained in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time.

About that time, Craterus and Antipater, having reduced Greece, paſſed into Aſia, to overthrow the power of Perdiccas; and news was brought that their firſt intention was to enter Cappadocia. Perdiccas himſelf was engaged in war with Ptolemy: he therefore appointed Eumenes commander in chief of the forces in Armenia and Cappadocia; and wrote to Alcetas and Neoptolemus to obey the orders of that general, whom he had inveſted with diſcretionary powers. Alcetas plainly refuſed to ſubmit to that injunction; alledging that the Macedonians would be aſhamed to fight Antipater; and as for Craterus, their affection for him was ſuch, that they would receive him with open arms. On the other hand, it was viſible that Neoptolemus was forming ſome treacherous ſcheme againſt Eumenes; for, when called upon, he refuſed to join him, and, inſtead of that, prepared to give him battle.

This was the firſt occaſion on which Eumenes reaped the fruits of his foreſight and timely preparations. For, though his infantry were beaten, with his cavalry he put Neoptolemus to flight, and took his baggage. And while the phalanx were diſperſed upon the purſuit, he fell upon them in ſuch good order with his horſe, that they were forced to lay down their arms, and take an oath to ſerve him. Neoptolemus collected ſome of the fugitives, and retired with them to Craterus and Antipater. They had already ſent ambaſſadors to Eumenes, to deſire him to adopt their intereſts, in reward of which they would confirm to him the provinces he had, and give him others, with an additional number of troops; in which caſe he would find Antipater a friend inſtead of an enemy, and continue in friendſhip with Craterus, inſtead of turning his arms againſt him.

Eumenes made anſwer to theſe propoſals, "That, "having long been on a footing of enmity with Anti- "pater, he did not chuſe to be his friend, at a time "when he ſaw him treating his friends as ſo many "enemies. As for Craterus, he was ready to reconcile "him to Perdiccas, and to compromiſe matters be- "tween them upon juſt and reaſonable terms. But if "he ſhould begin hoſtilities, he would ſupport his in- "jured friend while he had an hour to live, and rather "ſacrifice life itſelf than his honour."

When this anſwer was reported to Antipater and Craterus, they took ſome time to deliberate upon the meaſures they ſhould purſue. Meanwhile Neoptolemus arriving, gave them account of the battle he had loſt, and requeſted aſſiſtance of them both, but particularly of Craterus. He ſaid, "The Macedonians "had ſo extraordinary an attachment to him, that if "they ſaw but his hat, or heard one accent of his "tongue, they would immediately run to him with "their ſwords in their hands." Indeed, the reputation of Craterus was very great among them, and, after the death of Alexander, moſt of them wiſhed to be under

his

his command. They remembered the riſques he had run of embroiling himſelf with Alexander for their ſakes; how he had combated the inclination for Perſian faſhions which inſenſibly grew upon him, and ſupported the cuſtoms of his country againſt the inſults of barbaric pomp and luxury.

Craterus now ſent Antipater into Cilicia, and taking a conſiderable part of the forces himſelf, marched along with Neoptolemus againſt Eumenes. If Eumenes foreſaw his coming and was prepared for it, we may impute it to the vigilance neceſſary in a general; we ſee nothing in that of ſuperior genius. But when, beſide his concealing from the enemy what they ought not to diſcover, he brought his own troops to action, without knowing who was their adverſary, and made them ſerve againſt Craterus, without finding out that he was the officer they had to contend with; in this we ſee characteriſtical proofs of generalſhip. For he propagated a report, that Neoptolemus, aſſiſted by Pigris, was advancing again with ſome Cappadocian and Paphlagonian horſe. The night he deſigned to decamp, he fell into a ſound ſleep, and had a very extraordinary dream. He thought he ſaw two Alexanders prepared to try their ſtrength againſt each other, and each at the head of a phalanx. Minerva came to ſupport the one, and Ceres the other. A ſharp conflict enſued, in which the Alexander aſſiſted by Minerva, was defeated, and Ceres crowned the victor with a wreath of corn. He immediately concluded that the dream was in his favour, becauſe he had to fight for a country which was moſt of it in tillage, and which had then ſo excellent a crop well advanced towards the ſickle, that the whole face of it had the appearance of a profound peace. He was the more confirmed in his opinion, when he found the enemy's word was *Minerva and Alexander*; and in oppoſition to it he gave *Ceres and Alexander*. At the ſame time he ordered his men to crown themſelves, and to cover their arms with ears of corn. He was ſeveral times upon the point of declaring

claring to his principal officers and captains what adverſary they had to contend with; thinking it a hazardous undertaking to keep to himſelf a ſecret ſo important and perhaps neceſſary for them to know. Yet he abode by his firſt reſolution, and truſted his own heart only with the danger that might enſue.

When he came to give battle, he would not ſet any Macedonian to engage Craterus, but appointed to that charge two bodies of foreign horſe, commanded by Pharnabazus the ſon of Artabazus, and Phœnix of Tenedos. They had orders to advance on the firſt ſight of the enemy, and come to cloſe fighting, without giving them time to retire; and if they attempted to ſpeak or ſend any herald, they were not to regard it. For he had ſtrong apprehenſions that the Macedonians would go over to Craterus, if they happened to know him. Eumenes himſelf, with a troop of three hundred ſelect horſe, went and poſted himſelf in the right wing, where he ſhould have to act againſt Neoptolemus. When they had paſt a little hill that ſeparated the two armies, and came in view, they charged with ſuch impetuoſity, that Craterus was extremely ſurpriſed, and expreſſed his reſentment in ſtrong terms againſt Neoptolemus, who he thought had deceived him with a pretence that the Macedonians would change ſides. However, he exhorted his officers to behave like brave men, and ſtood forward to the encounter. In the firſt ſhock, which was very violent, the ſpears were ſoon broke, and they were then to decide the diſpute with the ſword.

The behaviour of Craterus did no diſhonour to Alexander. He killed numbers with his own hand, and overthrew many others who aſſailed him in front. But at laſt he received a ſide-blow from a Thracian, which brought him to the ground. Many paſſed over him without knowing him; but Gorgias, one of Eumenes's officers, took notice of him; and being well-acquainted with his perſon, leaped from his horſe and guarded the body. It was then, however, too late; he

he was at the laſt extremity, and in the agonies of death.

In the mean time Neoptolemus engaged Eumenes. The moſt violent hatred had long ſubſiſted between them, and this day added ſtings to it. They knew not one another in the two firſt encounters, but in the third they did; and then they ruſhed forward impetuouſly with ſwords drawn and loud ſhouts. The ſhock their horſes met with was ſo violent, that it reſembled that of two galleys. The fierce antagoniſts quitted the bridles, and laid hold on each other; each endeavouring to tear off the helmet or the breaſt-plate of his enemy. While their hands were thus engaged, their horſes went from under them; and as they fell to the ground without quitting their hold, they wreſtled for the advantage. Neoptolemus was beginning to riſe firſt, when Eumenes wounded him in the ham, and by that means got upon his feet before him. Neoptolemus being wounded in one knee, ſupported himſelf upon the other, and fought with great courage underneath, but was not able to reach his adverſary a mortal blow. At laſt receiving a wound in the neck, he grew faint, and ſtretched himſelf upon the ground. Eumenes, with all the eagerneſs of inveterate hatred, haſtening to ſtrip him of his arms, and loading him with reproaches, did not obſerve that his ſword was ſtill in his hand; ſo that Neoptolemus wounded him under the cuiraſs, where it touches upon the groin. However, as the ſtroke was but feeble, the apprehenſions it gave him were greater than the real hurt.

When he had deſpoiled his adverſary, weak as he was with the wounds he had received in his legs and arms, he mounted his horſe and made up to his left wing, which he ſuppoſed might be ſtill engaged with the enemy. There, being informed of the fate of Craterus, he haſtened to him; and finding his breath and his ſenſes not quite gone, he alighted from his horſe, wept over him, and gave him his hand. One while he vented his execrations upon Neoptolemus, and another while

while he lamented his own ill fortune, and the cruel neceſſity he was under of coming to extremities with his moſt intimate friend, and either giving or receiving the fatal blow.

Eumenes won this battle about ten days after the former. And it raiſed him to a high rank of honour, becauſe it brought him the palm both of capacity and courage. But at the ſame time it expoſed him to the envy and the hatred both of his allies and his enemies. It ſeemed hard to them, that a ſtranger, a foreign adventurer, ſhould have deſtroyed one of the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious of the Macedonians with the arms of thoſe very Macedonians. Had the news of the death of Craterus been brought ſooner to Perdiccas, none but he would have ſwayed the Macedonian ſceptre. But he was ſlain in a mutiny in Ægypt, two days before the news arrived. The Macedonians were ſo much exaſperated againſt Eumenes upon the late event, that they immediately decreed his death. Antigonus and Antipater were to take the direction of the war which was to carry that decree into execution. Meantime Eumenes went to the king's horſes which were paſturing upon mount Ida, and took ſuch as he had occaſion for, but gave the keepers a diſcharge for them. When Antipater was appriſed of it, he laughed, and ſaid, "He could not enough admire the caution "of Eumenes, who muſt certainly expect to ſee the "account of the king's goods and chattels ſtated "either on one ſide or other."

Eumenes intended to give battle upon the plains of Lydia near Sardis, both becauſe he was ſtrong in cavalry, and becauſe he was ambitious to ſhew Cleopatra what a reſpectable force he had. However, at the requeſt of that princeſs, who was afraid to give Antipater any cauſe of complaint, he marched to the Upper Phrygia, and wintered in Celænæ. There Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus, contended with him for the command; upon which he ſaid, "This makes good "the obſervation, Every one thinks of advancing him-"ſelf,

"ſelf, but no one thinks of the danger that may accrue "to the public weal."

He had promiſed to pay his army within three days, and as he had not money to do it, he ſold them all the farms and caſtles in the country, together with the people and cattle that were upon them. Every captain of a Macedonian company, or officer who had a command in the foreign troops, received battering engines from Eumenes; and when he had taken the caſtle, he divided the ſpoil among his company, according to the arrears due to each particular man. This reſtored him the affections of the ſoldiers; inſomuch that when papers were found in his camp, diſperſed by the enemy, in which their generals promiſed a hundred talents and great honours to the man who ſhould kill Eumenes, the Macedonians were highly incenſed, and gave order that from that time he ſhould have a body-guard of a thouſand * officer-like men always about him, who ſhould keep watch by turns, and be in waiting day and night. There was not a man who refuſed that charge; and they were glad to receive from Eumenes the marks of honour, which thoſe who were called the king's friends, uſed to receive from the hands of royalty. For he too was impowered to diſtribute purple hats and rich robes, which were conſidered as the principal gifts the kings of Macedon had to beſtow.

Proſperity gives ſome appearance of higher ſentiments even to perſons of mean ſpirit, and we ſee ſomething of grandeur and importance about them in the elevation where fortune has placed them. But he who is inſpired by real fortitude and magnanimity, will ſhew it moſt by the dignity of his behaviour under loſſes, and in the moſt adverſe fortune. So did Eumenes. When he had loſt a battle to Antigonus in the territory of the Orcynians in Cappadocia, through the treachery of one of his officers, though he was forced to fly himſelf, he did not ſuffer the traitor to eſcape to

* Τους ὑγεμονικους.

the

the enemy, but took him and hanged him upon the ſpot. In his flight he took a different way from the purſuers, and privately turned round in ſuch a manner, as to regain the field of battle. There he encamped, in order to bury the dead; whom he collected, and burnt with the door-poſts of the neighbouring villages. The bodies of the officers and common ſoldiers were burnt upon ſeparate piles; and when he had raiſed great monuments of earth over them, he decamped. So that Antigonus coming that way afterwards, was aſtoniſhed at his firmneſs and intrepidity.

Another time he fell in with the baggage of Antigonus, and could eaſily have taken it, together with many perſons of free condition, a great number of ſlaves, and all the wealth which had been amaſſed in ſo many wars, and the plunder of ſo many countries. But he was afraid that his men, when poſſeſſed of ſuch riches and ſpoils, would think themſelves too heavy for flight, and be too effeminate to bear the hardſhip of long wandering from place to place; and yet time, he knew, was his principal reſource for getting clear of Antigonus. On the other hand, he was ſenſible it would be extremely difficult to keep the Macedonians from flying upon the ſpoil, when it was ſo much within reach. He therefore ordered them to refreſh themſelves, and feed their horſes, before they attacked the enemy. In the mean time he privately ſent a meſſenger to Menander, who eſcorted the baggage, to acquaint him, "That Eumenes, in conſideration of the friend-"ſhip which had ſubſiſted between them, adviſed him to "provide for his ſafety, and to retire as faſt as poſſible "from the plain, where he might eaſily be ſurrounded, "to the foot of the neighbouring mountain, where "the cavalry could not act, nor any troops fall upon "his rear."

Menander ſoon perceived his danger, and retired. After which, Eumenes ſent out his ſcouts in the preſence of all the ſoldiers, and commanded the latter to arm and bridle their horſes, in order for the attack.

The

The ſcouts brought back an account that Menander had gained a ſituation where he could not be taken. Hereupon Eumenes pretended great concern, and drew off his forces. We are told, that upon the report Menander made of this affair to Antigonus, the Macedonians launched out in the praiſes of Eumenes, and began to regard him with an eye of kindneſs, for acting ſo generous a part, when it was in his power to have enſlaved their children and diſhonoured their wives. The anſwer Antigonus gave them was this: "Think not, my good friends, it was for your ſake "he let them go; it was for his own. He did not "chuſe to have ſo many ſhackles upon him, when he "deſigned to fly."

After this, Eumenes, being forced to wander and fly from place to place, ſpoke to many of his ſoldiers to leave him; either out of care for their ſafety, or becauſe he did not chuſe to have a body of men after him, who were too few to ſtand a battle, and too many to fly in privacy. And when he retired to the caſtle of * Nora, on the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with only five hundred horſe and two hundred foot, there again he gave all ſuch of his friends free leave to depart, as did not like the inconveniencies of the place, and the meanneſs of diet †, and diſmiſſed them with great marks of kindneſs.

In a little time Antigonus came up, and, before he formed that ſiege, invited him to a conference. Eumenes anſwered, "Antigonus had many friends, and "generals to take his place, in caſe of accidents to "himſelf; but the troops he had the care of, had "none to command or to protect them after him." He therefore inſiſted that Antigonus ſhould ſend hoſtages, if he wanted to treat with him in perſon. And when Antigonus wanted him to make his application to him firſt, as the greater man, he ſaid, "While I am "maſter of my ſword, I ſhall never think any man

* It was only two hundred and fifty paces in circumference.
† A hundred left him upon this offer.

"greater

"greater than myſelf." At laſt Antigonus ſent his nephew Ptolemy into the fort as a hoſtage, and then Eumenes came out to him. They embraced with great tokens of cordiality, having formerly been intimate friends and companions.

In the conference, which laſted a conſiderable time, Eumenes made no mention of ſecurity for his own life, or of an amneſty for what was paſſed. Inſtead of that, he inſiſted on having the government of his provinces confirmed to him, and conſiderable rewards for his ſervices beſides: inſomuch that all who attended on the occaſion, admired his firmneſs, and were aſtoniſhed at his greatneſs of mind.

During the interview, numbers of the Macedonians ran to ſee Eumenes; for, after the death of Craterus, no man was ſo much talked of in the army as he. But Antigonus, fearing they ſhould offer him ſome violence, called to them to keep at a diſtance, and when they ſtill kept crowding in, ordered them to be driven off with ſtones. At laſt he took him in his arms, and keeping off the multitude with his guards, with ſome difficulty got him ſafe again into the caſtle.

As the treaty ended in nothing, Antigonus drew a line of circumvallation round the place, and having left a ſufficient number of troops to carry on the ſiege, he retired. The fort was abundantly provided with corn, water, and ſalt, but in want of every thing elſe requiſite for the table. Yet with this mean proviſion he furniſhed out a chearful entertainment for his friends, whom he invited in their turns; for he took care to ſeaſon his proviſions with agreeable diſcourſe and the utmoſt cordiality. His appearance was, indeed, very engaging. His countenance had nothing of a ferocious or war-worn turn, but was ſmooth and elegant; and the proportion of his limbs was ſo excellent, that they might ſeem to have come from the chiſſel of the ſtatuary. And though he was not very eloquent, he had a ſoft and perſuaſive way of ſpeaking, as we may conclude from his epiſtles.

He

He obſerved, that the greateſt inconvenience to the garriſon was the narrowneſs of the ſpace in which they were confined, encloſed as it was with ſmall houſes, and the whole of it not more than two furlongs in circuit; ſo that they were forced to take their food without exerciſe, and their horſes to do the ſame. To remove the languor which is the conſequence of that want, as well as to prepare them for flight, if occaſion ſhould offer, he aſſigned a room, fourteen cubits long, the largeſt in all the fort, for the men to walk in, and gave them orders gradually to mend their pace. As for the horſes, he tied them to the roof of the ſtable with ſtrong halters. Then he raiſed their heads and fore-parts by a pulley, till they could ſcarce touch the ground with their fore-feet, but, at the ſame time, they ſtood firm upon their hind-feet. In this poſture the grooms plied them with the whip and the voice; and the horſes, thus irritated, bounded furiouſly on their hind-feet, or ſtrained to ſet their fore-feet on the ground; by which efforts their whole body was exerciſed, till they were out of breath and in a foam. After this exerciſe, which was no bad one either for ſpeed or ſtrength, they had their barley given them boiled, that they might ſooner diſpatch, and better digeſt it.

As the ſiege was drawn out to a conſiderable length, Antigonus received information of the death of Antipater in Macedonia, and of the troubles that prevailed there through the animoſities between Caſſander and Polyperchon. He now bade adieu to all inferior proſpects, and graſped the whole empire in his ſchemes; in conſequence of which, he wanted to make Eumenes his friend, and bring him to co-operate in the execution of his plan. For this purpoſe he ſent to him Hieronymus *, with propoſals of peace, on condition

* Hieronymus was of Cardia, and therefore a countryman of Eumenes. He wrote the hiſtory of thoſe princes who divided Alexander's dominions among them, and of their ſucceſſors.

he took the oath that was offered him. Eumenes made a correction in the oath, and left it to the Macedonians before the place to judge which form was the moſt reaſonable. Indeed, Antigonus, to ſave appearances, had ſlightly mentioned the royal family in the beginning, and all the reſt ran in his own name. Eumenes, therefore, put Olympias and the princes of the blood firſt: And he propoſed to engage himſelf by oath of fealty not to Antigonus only, but to Olympias, and the princes her children. This appearing to the Macedonians much more conſiſtent with juſtice than the other, they permitted Eumenes to take it, and then raiſed the ſiege. They likewiſe ſent this oath to Antigonus, requiring him to take it on the other part.

Mean time Eumenes reſtored to the Cappadocians all the hoſtages he had in Nora, and in return they furniſhed him with horſes, beaſts of burthen, and tents. He alſo collected great part of his ſoldiers who had diſperſed themſelves after his defeat, and were ſtraggling about the country. By this means he aſſembled near * a thouſand horſe, with which he marched off as faſt as poſſible; rightly judging he had much to fear from Antigonus. For that General not only ordered him to be beſieged again, and ſhut up with a circular wall, but, in his letters, expreſſed great reſentment againſt the Macedonians for admitting the correction of the oath.

While Eumenes was flying from place to place, he received letters from Macedonia, in which the people declared their apprehenſions of the growing power of Antigonus; and others from Olympias, wherein ſhe invited him to come and take upon him the tuition and care of Alexander's ſon, whoſe life ſhe conceived to be in danger. At the ſame time, Polyperchon and king Philip ſent him orders to carry on the war againſt Antigonus, with the forces in Cappadocia.

* Diodorus Siculus ſays two thouſand.

They

They impowered him alſo to take five hundred talents out of the royal treaſure at Quinda *, for the re-eſtabliſhment of his own affairs, and as much more as he ſhould judge neceſſary for the purpoſes of the war. Antigenes and Teutamus too, who commanded the *Argyraſpides*, had directions to ſupport him.

Theſe officers, in appearance, gave Eumenes a kind reception, but it was not difficult to diſcover the envy and jealouſy they had in their hearts, and how much they diſdained to act under him. Their envy he endeavoured to remove, by not taking the money, which he told them he did not want. To remove their obſtinacy and ambition for the firſt place, was not ſo eaſy an affair; for, though they knew not how to command, they were reſolved not to obey. In this caſe he called in the aſſiſtance of ſuperſtition. He ſaid, Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and ſhewed him a pavilion with royal furniture, and a throne in the middle of it, after which, that prince declared, "If they "would hold their councils, and diſpatch buſineſs "there, he would be with them, and proſper every "meaſure and action which commenced under his au-"ſpices †."

He eaſily perſuaded Antigenes and Teutamus to believe he had this viſion. They were not willing to wait upon him, nor did he chuſe to diſhonour his commiſſion by going to them. They prepared, therefore, a royal pavilion, and a throne in it, which they called the throne of Alexander; and thither they repaired to conſult upon their moſt important affairs.

* In Caria.

† In conſequence of this, according to Diodorus, Eumenes propoſed to take a ſum out of the treaſury, ſufficient for making a throne of gold; to place upon that throne the diadem, the ſceptre and crown, and all the other enſigns of royalty belonging to that prince; that every morning a ſacrifice ſhould be offered him by all the officers; and that all orders ſhould be iſſued in his name. A ſtroke of policy ſuitable to the genius of Eumenes.

From thence they marched to the higher provinces, and, upon the way, were joined by Peuceſtas, a friend of Eumenes, and other governors of provinces. Thus the Macedonians were greatly ſtrengthened, both in point of numbers, and in the moſt magnificent proviſion of all the requiſites of war. But power and affluence had rendered theſe governors ſo intractable in ſociety, and ſo diſſolute in their way of living, ſince the death of Alexander, and they came together with a ſpirit of deſpotiſm, ſo nurſed by barbaric pride, that they ſoon became obnoxious to each other, and no ſort of harmony could ſubſiſt between them. Beſides, they flattered the Macedonians without any regard to decorum, and ſupplied them with money in ſuch a manner, for their entertainments and ſacrifices, that, in a little time, their camp looked like a place of public reception for every ſcene of intemperance; and thoſe veterans were to be courted for military appointments, as the people are for their votes in a republic.

Eumenes ſoon perceived that the new-arrived grandees deſpiſed each other, but were afraid of him, and watched an opportunity to kill him. He therefore pretended he was in want of money, and borrowed large* ſums of thoſe that hated him moſt, in order that they might place ſome confidence in him, or at leaſt might give up their deſigns upon his life, out of regard to the money lent him. Thus he found guards for himſelf, in the opulence of others; and, though men in general ſeek to ſave their lives by giving, he provided for his ſafety by receiving.

While no danger was near, the Macedonians took bribes of all who wanted to corrupt them, and, like a kind of guards, daily attended the gates of thoſe that affected the command. But, when Antigonus came and encamped over againſt them, and affairs called for a real general, Eumenes was applied to, not only by the ſoldiers, but the very grandees, who had

* Four hundred thouſand crowns.

taken

taken ſo much ſtate upon them in time of peace and pleaſure, freely gave place to him, and took the poſt he aſſigned them without murmuring. Indeed, when Antigonus attempted to paſs the river Paſitigris, not one of the other officers who were appointed to guard it, got any intelligence of his motions: Eumenes alone was at hand to oppoſe him; and he did it ſo effectually, that he filled the channel with dead bodies, and made four thouſand priſoners.

The behaviour of the Macedonians, when Eumenes happened to be ſick, ſtill more particularly ſhewed, that they thought others fit to direct in magnificent entertainments, and the ſolemnities of peace, but that he was the only perſon among them fit to lead an army. For, Peuceſtas having feaſted them in a ſumptuous manner in Perſia, and given each man a ſheep for ſacrifice, hoped to be indulged with the command. A few days after, as they were marching againſt the enemy, Eumenes was ſo dangerouſly ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter, at ſome diſtance from the ranks, leſt his reſt, which was very precarious, ſhould be diſturbed with the noiſe. They had not gone far, before the enemy ſuddenly made their appearance, for they had paſſed the intermediate hills, and were now deſcending into the plain. The luſtre of their golden armour glittering in the ſun, as they marched down the hill, the elephants with their towers on their backs, and the purple veſts which the cavalry uſed to wear when they were advancing to the combat, ſtruck the troops that were to oppoſe them with ſuch ſurprize, that the front halted, and called out for Eumenes; declaring they would not move a ſtep farther, if he had not the direction of them. At the ſame time they grounded their arms, exhorted each other to ſtop, and inſiſted that their officers ſhould not hazard an engagement without Eumenes.

Eumenes no ſooner heard this, than he advanced with the utmoſt expedition, haſtening the ſlaves that carried the litter. He likewiſe opened the curtains,

and ſtretched out his hand, in token of his joy. On the firſt ſight of the general of their heart, the troops ſaluted him in the Macedonian language, clanked their arms, and, with loud ſhouts, challenged the enemy to advance, thinking themſelves invincible while he was at their head.

Antigonus having learnt from ſome priſoners, that Eumenes was ſo extremely ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter, concluded he ſhould find no great difficulty in beating the other Generals; and, therefore, haſtened to the attack. But when he came to reconnoitre the enemy's army, and ſaw in what excellent order it was drawn up, he ſtood ſtill ſome time, in ſilent admiration. At laſt, ſpying the litter carried about, from one wing to the other, he laughed out aloud, as his manner was, and ſaid to his friends, "Yon litter is the thing that pitches the battle againſt us." After this, he immediately retreated to his entrenchments *.

The

* There are ſome particulars in Diodorus, which deſerve to be inſerted here. After the two armies were ſeparated, without coming to action, they encamped about three furlongs diſtance from each other; and Antigonus ſoon finding the country where he lay, ſo much exhauſted, that it would be very difficult for him to ſubſiſt, ſent deputies to the confederate army, to ſollicit them, eſpecially the governors of provinces, and the old Macedonian corps, to deſert Eumenes, and to join him; which, at this time, they rejected with the higheſt indignation. After the deputies were diſmiſſed, Eumenes came into the aſſembly, and delivered himſelf in the following fable. "A lion once falling in love "with a young damſel, demanded her in marriage of her father. "The father made anſwer, that he looked on ſuch an alliance "as a great honour to his family, but ſtood in fear of his claws "and teeth, leſt upon any trifling diſpute that might happen be-"tween them after marriage, he might exerciſe them a little too "haſtily upon his daughter. To remove this objection, the amo-"rous lion cauſed both his nails and teeth to be drawn immedi-"ately; whereupon, the father took a cudgel, and ſoon got rid "of his enemy. This," continued he, "is the very thing aimed "at by Antigonus, who is liberal in promiſes, till he has made "himſelf maſter of your forces, and then beware of his teeth and "paws." A few days after this, Eumenes having intelligence that

The Macedonians had hardly recovered themſelves from their fears, before they began to behave again in a diſorderly and mutinous manner to their officers, and ſpread themſelves over almoſt all the provinces of Gabene for winter quarters; inſomuch that the firſt were at the diſtance of a thouſand furlongs from the laſt. Antigonus being informed of this circumſtance, moved back againſt them, without loſing a moment's time. He took a rugged road, that afforded no water, becauſe it was the ſhorteſt; hoping, if he fell upon them while thus diſperſed, that it would be impoſſible for their officers to aſſemble them.

However, as ſoon as he had entered that deſolate country, his troops were attacked with ſuch violent winds, and ſevere froſts, that it was difficult for them to proceed; and they found it neceſſary to light many fires. For this reaſon their march could not be concealed. The Barbarians, who inhabited the mountains that overlook the deſart, wondering what ſuch a number of fires could mean, ſent ſome perſons upon dromedaries to Peuceſtas, with an account of them.

that Antigonus intended to decamp in the night, preſently gueſſed that his deſign was to ſeek quarters of refreſhment for his army in the rich diſtrict of Gabene. To prevent this, and at the ſame time to gain a paſſage into that country, he inſtructed ſome ſoldiers to pretend they were deſerters, and ſent them into the camp of Antigonus, where they reported that Eumenes intended to attack him in his trenches that very night. But while Antigonus's troops were under arms, Eumenes marched for Gabene, which, at length, Antigonus ſuſpected; and, having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his cavalry. Early in the morning, from the top of a hill, he diſcerned Eumenes, with his army, below; and Eumenes, upon ſight of the cavalry, concluding that the whole army of Antigonus was at hand, faced about, and diſpoſed his troops in order to battle. Thus Eumenes was deceived in his turn; and as ſoon as Antigonus's infantry came up, a ſharp action followed, in which the victory ſeemed won and loſt ſeveral times. At laſt, however, Antigonus had viſibly the worſt, being forced to withdraw, by long marches, into Media. DIOD. SIC. *Lib.* xviii.

Peuceſtas, diſtracted with terror at this news, prepared for flight, intending to take with him ſuch troops as he could collect on the way. But Eumenes ſoon diſpelled their fears and uneaſineſs, by promiſing ſo to impede the enemy's march, that they would arrive three days later than they were expected. Finding that they liſtened to him, he ſent orders to the officers to draw all the troops from their quarters, and aſſemble them with ſpeed. At the ſame time he took his horſe, and went with his collegues to ſeek out a lofty piece of ground, which might attract the attention of the troops marching below. Having found one that anſwered his purpoſe, he meaſured it, and cauſed a number of fires to be lighted at proper intervals, ſo as to reſemble a camp.

When Antigonus beheld thoſe fires upon the heights, he was in the utmoſt diſtreſs. For he thought the enemy were apprized of his intention ſome time before, and were come to meet him. Not chuſing, therefore, with forces ſo harraſſed and fatigued with their march, to be obliged to fight troops that were perfectly freſh, and had wintered in agreeable quarters, he left the ſhort road, and led his men through the towns and villages; giving them abundant time to refreſh themſelves. But when he found that no parties came out to gall him in his march, which is uſual when an enemy is near, and was informed, by the neighbouring inhabitants, that they had ſeen no troops whatever, nor any thing but fires upon the hills, he perceived that Eumenes had outdone him in point of generalſhip; and this incenſed him ſo much, that he advanced with a reſolution to try his ſtrength in a pitched battle.

Mean time the greateſt part of the forces repairing to Eumenes, in admiration of his capacity, deſired him to take the ſole command. Upon this, Antigenes and Teutamus, who were at the head of the *Argyraſpides*, were ſo exaſperated with envy, that they formed a plot againſt his life; and having drawn into it moſt

of

of the grandees and generals, they conſulted upon a proper time and method to take him off. They all agreed to make uſe of him in the enſuing battle, and to aſſaſſinate him immediately after. But Eudamus, maſter of the elephants, and Phædimus, privately informed Eumenes of their reſolutions; not out of any kindneſs or benevolent regard, but becauſe they were afraid of loſing the money they had lent him. He commended them for the honour with which they behaved, and retired to his tent. There he told his friends, "That he lived amongſt a herd of ſavage "beaſts," and immediately made his will. After which, he deſtroyed all his papers, leſt, after his death, charges and impeachments ſhould ariſe againſt the perſons who wrote them, in conſequence of the ſecrets diſcovered there. He then conſidered, whether he ſhould put the enemy in the way of gaining the victory, or take his flight through Media and Armenia into Cappadocia; but he could not fix upon any thing while his friends ſtayed with him. After revolving various expedients in his mind, which was now almoſt as changeable as his fortune, he drew up the forces, and endeavoured to animate the Greeks and the Barbarians. On the other hand, the *Phalanx* and the *Argyraſpides* bade him be of good courage, aſſuring him, that the enemy would not ſtand the encounter. For they were veterans who had ſerved under Philip and Alexander, and, like ſo many champions of the ring, had never had a fall to that day. Many of them were ſeventy years of age, and none leſs than ſixty. So that when they charged the troops of Antigonus, they cried out, "Villains, you fight againſt "your fathers." Then they fell furiouſly upon his infantry, and ſoon routed them. Indeed, none of the battalions could ſtand the ſhock, and moſt of them were cut in pieces upon the ſpot. But though Antigonus had ſuch bad ſucceſs in this quarter, his cavalry were victorious, through the weak and daſtardly behaviour of Peuceſtas, and took all the baggage. Antigonus

tigonus was a man who had an excellent preſence of mind on the moſt trying occaſions, and here the place and the occaſion befriended him. It was a plain open country, the ſoil neither deep nor hard, but, like the ſea-ſhore, covered with a fine dry ſand, which the trampling of ſo many men and horſes, during the action, reduced to a ſmall white duſt, that, like a cloud of lime, darkened the air, and intercepted the proſpect; ſo that it was eaſy for Antigonus to take the baggage unperceived.

After the battle was over, Teutamus ſent ſome of his corps to Antigonus, to deſire him to reſtore the baggage. He told them, he would not only return the *Argyraſpides* their baggage, but treat them, in all reſpects, with the greateſt kindneſs, provided they would put Eumenes in his hands. The *Argyraſpides* came into that abominable meaſure, and agreed to deliver up that brave man alive to his enemies. In purſuance of this ſcheme, they approached him unſuſpected, and planted themſelves about him. Some lamented the loſs of their baggage; ſome deſired him to aſſume the ſpirit of victory, which he had gained; others accuſed the reſt of their commanders. Thus watching their opportunity, they fell upon him, took away his ſword, and bound his hands behind him with his own girdle.

Nicanor was ſent by Antigonus to receive him. But, as they led him through the midſt of the Macedonians, he deſired firſt to ſpeak to them; not for any requeſt he had to make, but upon matters of great importance to *them*. Silence being made, he aſcended an eminence, and ſtretching out his hands, bound as they were, he ſaid: "What trophy, ye "vileſt of all the Macedonians! what trophy could "Antigonus have wiſhed to raiſe, like this which you "are raiſing, by delivering up your general bound? "Was it not baſe enough to acknowledge yourſelves "beaten, merely for the ſake of your baggage, as if "victory dwelt among your goods and chattels, and "not

" not upon the points of your ſwords; but you muſt " alſo ſend your general as a ranſom for that baggage? "For my part, though thus led, I am not con- " quered; I have beaten the enemy, and am ruined by " my fellow-ſoldiers. But I conjure you by the * god " of armies, and the aweful deities who preſide over " oaths, to kill me here with your own hands. If " my life be taken by another, the deed will ſtill be " yours. Nor will Antigonus complain, if you take " the work out of his hands; for he wants not Eu- " menes alive, but Eumenes dead. If you chuſe " not to be the immediate inſtruments, looſe but one " of my hands, and that ſhall do the buſineſs. If " you will not truſt me with a ſword, throw me, " bound as I am, to wild beaſts. If you comply with " this laſt requeſt, I acquit you of all guilt with " reſpect to me, and declare you have behaved to your " general like the beſt and honeſteſt of men."

The reſt of the troops received this ſpeech with ſighs and tears, and every expreſſion of ſorrow; but the *Argyraſpides* cried out, " Lead him on, and attend " not to his trifling. For it is no ſuch great matter, " if an execrable Cherſoneſian, who has harraſſed the " Macedonians with infinite wars, have cauſe to la- " ment his fate; as it would be, if the beſt of Alex- " ander's and Philip's ſoldiers ſhould be deprived of " the fruit of their labours, and have their bread to " beg in their old age. And have not our wives al- " ready paſſed three nights with our enemies?" So ſaying, they drove him forward.

Antigonus, fearing ſome bad conſequence from the crowd, (for there was not a man left in his camp) ſent out ten of his beſt elephants, and a corps of ſpearmen, who were Medes and Parthiæans, to keep them off. He could not bear to have Eumenes brought into his preſence, becauſe of the former friendly connections there had been between them. And when thoſe who

* Jupiter.

took

took the charge of him, aſked, in what manner he would have him him kept? He ſaid, "So as you "would keep an elephant or a lion." Nevertheleſs, he ſoon felt ſome impreſſions of pity, and ordered them to take off his heavy chains, and allow him a ſervant who had been accuſtomed to wait upon him. He likewiſe permitted ſuch of his friends as deſired it, to paſs whole days with him, and to bring him the neceſſary refreſhments. Thus he ſpent ſome conſiderable time in deliberating how to diſpoſe of him, and ſometimes liſtened to the applications and promiſes of Nearchus, the Cretan, and his own ſon Demetrius, who made it a point to ſave him. But all the other officers inſiſted that he ſhould be put to death, and urged Antigonus to give directions for it.

One day, we are told, Eumenes aſked his keeper, Onomarchus, "Why Antigonus, now he had got his "enemy into his power, did not either immediately "diſpatch him, or generouſly releaſe him?" Onomarchus anſwered, in a contemptuous manner, "That in "the battle, and not now, he ſhould have been ſo "ready to meet death." To which Eumenes replied, "By heaven I was ſo. Aſk thoſe who ven-"tured to engage me, if I was not. I do not know "that I met with a better man than myſelf."—"Well," ſaid Onomarchus, "now you have found a better "man than yourſelf, why do not you patiently wait "his time?"

When Antigonus had reſolved upon his death, he gave orders that he ſhould have no kind of food. By this means, in two or three days time, he began to draw near his end: And then Antigonus, being obliged to decamp upon ſome ſudden emergency, ſent in an executioner to diſpatch him. The body he delivered to his friends, allowing them to burn it honourably, and to collect the aſhes into a ſilver urn, in order to their being ſent to his wife and children.

Thus died Eumenes: And divine juſtice did not go far to ſeek inſtruments of vengeance againſt the officers

officers and ſoldiers who had betrayed him. Antigonus himſelf deteſting the * *Argyraſpides* as impious and ſavage wretches, ordered Ibyrtius, Governor of † Arachoſia, under whoſe direction he put them, to take every method to deſtroy them; ſo that not one of them might return to Macedonia, or ſet his eyes upon the Grecian ſea.

* Antigenes, commander in chief of the *Silver Shields*, was, by order of Antigonus, put in a coffin, and burnt alive. Eudamus, Celbanus, and many others of the enemies of Eumenes, experienced a like fate.

† A province of Parthia, near Bactriana.

SERTO-

SERTORIUS *and* EUMENES *compared.*

THESE are the moſt remarkable particulars which hiſtory has given us concerning Eumenes and Sertorius. And now to come to the compariſon. We obſerve firſt, that though they were both ſtrangers, aliens, and exiles, they had, to the end of their days, the command of many warlike nations, and great and reſpectable armies. Sertorius, indeed, has this advantage, that his fellow-warriors ever freely gave up the command to him on account of his ſuperior merit; whereas many diſputed the poſt of honour with Eumenes, and it was his actions only that obtained it for him. The officers of Sertorius were ambitious to have him at their head; but thoſe who acted under Eumenes, never had recourſe to him, till experience had ſhewed them their own incapacity, and the neceſſity of employing another.

The one was a Roman, and commanded the Spaniards and Luſitanians, who for many years had been ſubject to Rome; the other was a Cherſoneſian, and commanded the Macedonians, who had conquered the whole world. It ſhould be conſidered too, that Sertorius the more eaſily made his way, becauſe he was a ſenator, and had led armies before; but Eumenes,

menes, with the diſreputation of having been only a ſecretary, raiſed himſelf to the firſt military employments. Nor had Eumenes only fewer advantages, but greater impediments alſo in the road to honour. Numbers oppoſed him openly, and as many formed private deſigns againſt his life; whereas no man ever oppoſed Sertorius in public, and it was not till towards the laſt, that a few of his own party entered upon a private ſcheme to deſtroy him. The dangers of Sertorius were generally over, when he had gained a victory; and the dangers of Eumenes grew out of his very victories, among thoſe who envied his ſucceſs.

Their military performances were equal and ſimilar, but their diſpoſitions were very different. Eumenes loved war, and had a native ſpirit of contention; Sertorius loved peace and tranquillity. The former might have lived in great ſecurity and honour, if he would not have ſtood in the way of the great; but he rather choſe to tread for ever in the uneaſy paths of power, though he had to fight every ſtep he took: The latter would gladly have withdrawn from the tumult of public affairs; but was forced to continue the war, to defend himſelf againſt his reſtleſs perſecutors. For Antigonus would have taken pleaſure in employing Eumenes, if he would have given up the diſpute for ſuperiority, and been content with the ſtation next to his; whereas Pompey would not grant Sertorius his requeſt to live a private citizen. Hence, the one voluntarily engaged in war, for the ſake of gaining the chief command; the other involuntarily took the command, becauſe he could not live in peace. Eumenes, therefore, in his paſſion for the camp, preferred ambition to ſafety; Sertorius was an able warrior, but employed his talents only for the ſafety of his perſon. The one was not apprized of his impending fate; the other expected his every moment. The one had the candid praiſe of confidence in his friends; the other incurred the cenſure of weakneſs; for he would

would have * fled, but could not. The death of Sertorius did no diſhonour to his life; he ſuffered that from his fellow-ſoldiers, which the enemy could not have effected. Eumenes could not avoid his chains, yet after the indignity of chains †, he wanted to live; ſo that he could neither eſcape death, nor meet it as he ought to have done; but, by having recourſe to mean applications and intreaties, put his mind in the power of the man who was only maſter of his body.

* Upon notice of the intention of his enemies to deſtroy him after the battle, he deliberated whether he ſhould give up the victory to Antigonus, or retire into Cappadocia.

† This does not appear from Plutarch's account of him. He only deſired Antigonus either to give immediate orders for his execution, or to ſhew his generoſity in releaſing him.

ARCHI-

AGESILAUS.

ARCHIDAMUS, the ſon of Xeuxidamus, after having governed the Lacedæmonians with a very reſpectable character, left behind him two ſons; the one named Agis, whom he had by † Lampito, a woman of an illuſtrious family; the other much younger, named Ageſilaus, whom he had by Eupolia, the daughter of Meliſippidas. As the crown, by law, was to deſcend to Agis, Ageſilaus had nothing to expect but a private ſtation, and therefore had a common Lacedæmonian education; which, though hard in reſpect of diet, and full of laborious exerciſes, was well calculated to teach the youth obedience. Hence, Simonides is ſaid to have called that famed city, *the man-ſubduing* Sparta, becauſe it was the principal tendency of her diſcipline to make the citizens obedient and ſubmiſſive to the laws; and ſhe trained her youth as the colt is trained to the menage. The law does not lay the young princes, who are educated for the throne, under the ſame neceſſity. But Ageſilaus was ſingular in this, that before he came to govern, he had learnt to obey. Hence it was that he accommodated himſelf with a better grace to his ſubjects than any other of the kings; having added to his princely talents and inclinations, a humane manner and popular civility.

* Archidamus II.

† Lampito, or Lampido, was ſiſter to Archidamus by the father's ſide. Vid. PLAT. ALCIBIAD.

While he was yet in one of the claſſes, or ſocieties, of boys, Lyſander had that honourable attachment to him which the Spartans diſtinguiſh with the name of love. He was charmed with his ingenuous modeſty. For, though he had a ſpirit above his companions, an ambition to excel, which made him unwilling to ſit down without the prize, and a vigour and impetuoſity which could not be conquered or borne down, yet he was equally remarkable for his gentleneſs, where it was neceſſary to obey. At the ſame time, it appeared, that his obedience was not owing to fear, but to a principle of honour, and that throughout his whole conduct he dreaded diſgrace more than toil.

He was lame of one leg; but that defect, during his youth, was covered by the agreeable turn of the reſt of his perſon; and the eaſy and chearful manner in which he bore it, and his being the firſt to rally himſelf upon it, always made it the leſs regarded. Nay, that defect made his ſpirit of enterprize more remarkable; for he never declined on that account any undertaking, however difficult or laborious.

We have no portrait or ſtatue of him. He would not ſuffer any to be made while he lived, and at his death he utterly forbade it. We are only told, that he was a little man, and that he had not a commanding aſpect. But a perpetual vivacity and chearfulneſs, attended with a talent for raillery, which was expreſt without any ſeverity either of voice or look, made him more agreeable even in age than the young and the handſome. Theophraſtus tells us, the *Ephori* fined Archidamus for marrying a little woman. "She will "bring us," ſaid they, "a race of pygmies, inſtead "of kings."

During the reign of Agis, Alcibiades, upon his quitting Sicily, came an exile to Lacedæmon. And he had not been there long, before he was ſuſpected of a criminal commerce with Timæa, the wife of Agis. Agis would not acknowledge the child, which ſhe had, for his, but ſaid it was the ſon of Alcibiades. Duris informs

informs us, that the queen was not diſpleaſed at the ſuppoſition, and that ſhe uſed to whiſper to her women, the child ſhould be called Alcibiades, not Leotychidas. He adds, that Alcibiades himſelf ſcrupled not to ſay, "He did not approach Timæa to gratify his appetite, "but from an ambition to give kings to Sparta." However, he was obliged to fly from Sparta, leſt Agis ſhould revenge the injury. And that prince looking upon Leotychidas with an eye of ſuſpicion, did not take notice of him as a ſon. Yet, in his laſt ſickneſs, Leotychidas prevailed upon him, by his tears and intreaties, to acknowledge him as ſuch before many witneſſes.

Notwithſtanding this public declaration, Agis was no ſooner dead, than Lyſander, who had vanquiſhed the Athenians at ſea, and had great power and intereſt in Sparta, advanced Ageſilaus to the throne; alledging that Leotychidas was a baſtard, and conſequently had no right to it. Indeed, the generality of the citizens, knowing the virtues of Ageſilaus, and that he had been educated with them in all the ſeverity of the Spartan diſcipline, joined with pleaſure in the ſcheme.

There was then at Sparta a diviner, named Diopithes, well verſed in ancient prophecies, and ſuppoſed an able interpreter of every thing relating to the gods. This man inſiſted, it was contrary to the divine will, that a lame man ſhould ſit on the throne of Sparta; and on the day the point was to be decided, he publickly read this oracle—

*Beware, proud Sparta, leſt a * maimed empire*
Thy boaſted ſtrength impair; far other woes
Than thou beheld'ſt, await thee—borne away
By the ſtrong tide of war ———

Lyſander obſerved upon this, that if the Spartans were ſollicitous to act literally according to the oracle,

* The two legs of the Spartan conſtitution were the two kings, which therefore muſt be in a maimed and ruinous ſtate when one of them was gone. In fact, the conſequence produced not a juſt and good monarch, but a tyrant.

they ought to beware of Leotychidas. For that heaven did not conſider it as a matter of importance, if the king happened to have a lame foot: The thing to be guarded againſt, was the admiſſion of a perſon who was not a genuine deſcendant of Hercules; for that would make the kingdom itſelf lame. Ageſilaus added, that Neptune had borne witneſs to the baſtardy of Leotychidas, in throwing Agis out of his bed by an earthquake †; ten months after which, and more, Leotychidas was born; though Agis did not cohabit with Timæa during that time.

By theſe ways and means Ageſilaus gained the diadem, and at the ſame time was put in poſſeſſion of the private eſtate of Agis; Leotychidas being rejected on account of his illegitimacy. Obſerving, however, that his relations by the mother's ſide, though men of merit, were very poor, he gave a moiety of the eſtate among them; by which means the inheritance procured him reſpect and honour, inſtead of envy and averſion.

Xenophon tells us, that by obedience to the laws of his country, Ageſilaus gained ſo much power, that his will was not diſputed. The caſe was this. The principal authority was then in the hands of the *Ephori* and the ſenate. The *Ephori* were annual magiſtrates, and the ſenators had their office for life. They were both appointed as a barrier againſt the power of the kings, as we have obſerved in the life of Lycurgus. The kings, therefore, had an old and hereditary antipathy to them, and perpetual diſputes ſubſiſted between them. But Lyſander took a different courſe. He gave up all thoughts of oppoſition and contention, and paid his court to them on every occaſion; taking care, in all his enterprizes, to ſet out under their auſpices. If he was called, he went faſter than uſual: If he was upon his throne, adminiſtring juſtice, he roſe up when the *Ephori* approached: If any one of them was admitted a member of the ſenate, he

† See Xenophon, Grecian Hiſt. Book iii.

ſent

ſent him a robe and an ox*, as marks of honour. Thus, while he ſeemed to be adding to the dignity and importance of their body, he was privately increaſing his own ſtrength, and the authority of the crown, through their ſupport and attachment.

In his conduct with reſpect to the other citizens, he behaved better as an enemy than as a friend. If he was ſevere to his enemies, he was not unjuſtly ſo; his friends he countenanced even in their unjuſt purſuits. If his enemies performed any thing extraordinary, he was aſhamed not to take honourable notice of it; his friends he could not correct when they did amiſs. On the contrary, it was his pleaſure to ſupport them, and go the ſame lengths they did; for he thought no ſervice diſhonourable which he did in the way of friendſhip. Nay, if his adverſaries fell into any misfortune, he was the firſt to ſympathize with them, and ready to give them his aſſiſtance, if they deſired it. By theſe means he gained the hearts of all his people.

The *Ephori* ſaw this, and, in their fear of his increaſing power, impoſed a fine upon him; alleging this as the reaſon, that whereas the citizens ought to be in common, he appropriated them to himſelf. As the writers upon phyſics ſay, that if war and diſcord were baniſhed the univerſe, the heavenly bodies would ſtop their courſe, and all generation and motion would ceaſe, by reaſon of that perfect harmony; ſo the great law-giver infuſed a ſpirit of ambition and contention into the Spartan conſtitution, as an incentive to virtue, and wiſhed always to ſee ſome difference and diſpute among the good and virtuous. He thought that general complaiſance, which leads men to yield to the next propoſal, without exploring each other's intentions, and without debating on the conſequences, was an inert principle, and deſerved not the name of

* Emblems of magiſtracy and patriotiſm.

harmony *. Some imagine that Homer ſaw this; and that he would not have made † Agamemnon rejoice, when Ulyſſes and Achilles contended in ſuch opprobrious terms, if he had not expected that ſome great benefit would ariſe to their affairs in general, from this particular quarrel among the great. This point, however, cannot be agreed to without ſome exception; for violent diſſenſions are pernicious to a ſtate, and productive of the greateſt dangers.

Ageſilaus had not been long ſeated on the throne, before accounts were brought from Aſia, that the king of Perſia was preparing a great fleet to diſpoſſeſs the Lacedæmonians of their dominion of the ſea. Lyſander was very deſirous to be ſent again into Aſia, that he might ſupport his friends whom he had left governors and maſters of the cities, and many of whom, having abuſed their authority to the purpoſes of violence and injuſtice, were baniſhed or put to death by the people. He therefore perſuaded Ageſilaus to enter Aſia with his forces, and fix the ſeat of war at the greateſt diſtance from Greece, before the Perſian could have finiſhed his preparations. At the ſame time he inſtructed his friends in Aſia, to ſend deputies to Lacedæmon, to deſire Ageſilaus might be appointed to that command.

Ageſilaus received their propoſals in full aſſembly of the people, and agreed to undertake the war, on condition they would give him thirty Spartans for his officers and counſellors, a ſelect corps of two thouſand newly enfranchiſed *helots*, and ſix thouſand of the allies. All this was readily decreed, through the influence of Lyſander, and Ageſilaus ſent out with the thirty Spartans. Lyſander was ſoon at the head of this

* Upon the ſame principle, we need not be greatly alarmed at party diſputes in our own nation. They will not expire but with liberty. And ſuch ferments are often neceſſary to throw off vicious humours.

† Odyſſey, Lib. viii.

council,

council, not only on account of his reputation and power, but the friendſhip of Ageſilaus, who thought the procuring him this command a greater thing than the raiſing him to the throne.

While his forces were aſſembling at Geræſtus, he went with his friends to Aulis; and paſſing the night there, he dreamed that a perſon addreſſed him in this manner: "You are ſenſible that, ſince Agamemnon, "none has been appointed captain-general of all "Greece, but yourſelf, the king of Sparta; and you "are the only perſons who have arrived at that honour. "Since, therefore, you command the ſame people, and "go againſt the ſame enemies with him, as well as "take your departure from the ſame place, you "ought to propitiate the goddeſs with the ſame ſacri-"fice, which he offered here before he ſailed."

Ageſilaus at firſt thought of the ſacrifice of Iphigenia, whom her father offered in obedience to the ſoothſayers. This circumſtance, however, did not give him any pain. In the morning he related the viſion to his friends, and told them he would honour the goddeſs with what a ſuperior Being might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to take pleaſure in, and not imitate the ſavage ignorance of his predeceſſor. In conſequence of which, he crowned a hind with flowers, and delivered her to his own ſoothſayer, with orders that he ſhould perform the ceremony, and not the perſon appointed to that office by the Bœotians. The firſt magiſtrates of Bœotia, incenſed at this innovation, ſent their officers to inſiſt that Ageſilaus ſhould not ſacrifice contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of Bœotia. And the officers not only gave him ſuch notice, but threw the thighs of the victim from the altar. Ageſilaus was highly offended at this treatment, and departed in great wrath with the Thebans. Nor could he conceive any hopes of ſucceſs after ſuch an omen; on the contrary, he concluded his operations would be incomplete, and his expedition not anſwer the intention.

When he came to Epheſus, the power and intereſt of Lyſander appeared in a very obnoxious light. The gates of that miniſter were continually crowded, and all applications were made to him; as if Ageſilaus had only the name and badges of command, to ſave the forms of law, and Lyſander had in fact the power, and all buſineſs were to paſs through his hands. Indeed, none of the generals who were ſent to Aſia, ever had greater ſway, or were more dreaded than he; none ever ſerved their friends more effectually, or humbled their enemies ſo much. Theſe were things freſh in every one's memory; and when they compared alſo the plain, the mild, and popular behaviour of Ageſilaus, with the ſtern, the ſhort, and authoritative manner of Lyſander, they ſubmitted to the latter entirely, and attended to him alone.

The other Spartans firſt expreſſed their reſentment, becauſe that attention to Lyſander made them appear rather as his miniſters, than as counſellors to the king. Afterwards Ageſilaus himſelf was piqued at it. For, though he had no envy in his nature, or jealouſy of honours paid to merit, yet he was ambitious of glory, and firm in aſſerting his claim to it. Beſides, he was apprehenſive that if any great action were performed, it would be imputed to Lyſander, on account of the ſuperior light in which he had ſtill been conſidered.

The method he took to obviate it, was this. His firſt ſtep was, to oppoſe the counſels of Lyſander, and to purſue meaſures different from thoſe, for which he was moſt earneſt. Another ſtep was, to reject the petitions of all who appeared to apply to him through the intereſt of that miniſter. In matters, too, which were brought before the king in a judicial way, thoſe againſt whom Lyſander exerted himſelf, were ſure to gain their cauſe; and they for whom he appeared, could ſcarce eſcape without a fine. As theſe things happened not caſually, but conſtantly and of ſet purpoſe, Lyſander perceived the cauſe, and concealed it not from his friends. He told them, it was on his account

count they were disgraced, and desired them to pay their court to the king, and to those who had greater interest with him than himself. These proceedings seemed invidious, and intended to depreciate the king: Agesilaus, therefore, to mortify him still more, appointed him his carver: and we are told, he said before a large company, "Now let them go and pay "their court to my carver."

Lysander, unable to bear this last instance of contempt, said, "Agesilaus, you know very well how "to lessen your friends." Agesilaus answered, "I "know very well who want to be greater than my-"self." "But perhaps," said Lysander, "that has "rather been so represented to you, than attempted by "me. Place me, however, where I may serve you, "without giving you the least umbrage."

Upon this, Agesilaus appointed him his lieutenant in the Hellespont, where he persuaded Spithridates, a Persian, in the province of Pharnabazus, to come over to the Greeks, with a considerable treasure, and two hundred horse. Yet he retained his resentment, and nourishing the remembrance of the affront he had received, considered how he might deprive the * two families of the privilege of giving kings to Sparta, and open the way to that high station to all the citizens. And it seems that he would have raised great commotions in pursuit of his revenge, if he had not been killed in his expedition into Bœotia. Thus ambitious spirits, when they go beyond certain bounds, do much more harm than good to the community. For if Lysander was to blame, as in fact he was, in indulging an unreasonable avidity of honour, Agesilaus might have known other methods to correct the fault of a man of his character and spirit. But, under the influence of the same passion, the one knew not how to pay proper respect to his general, nor the other how to bear the imperfections of his friend.

* The Eurytionidæ and the Agidæ.

At

At first Tisaphernes was afraid of Agesilaus, and undertook by treaty, that the king would leave the Grecian cities to be governed by their own laws: but afterwards thinking his strength sufficiently increased, he declared war. This was an event very agreeable to Agesilaus. He hoped great things from this expedition *; and he considered it is a circumstance which would reflect dishonour upon himself, that Xenophon could conduct ten thousand Greeks from the heart of Asia to the sea, and beat the king of Persia whenever his forces thought proper to engage him; if he at the head of the Lacedæmonians, who were masters both at sea and land, could not distinguish himself before the Greeks by some great and memorable stroke.

To revenge, therefore, the perjury of Tisaphernes by an artifice which justice recommended, he pretended immediately to march into Caria; and when the Barbarian had drawn his forces to that quarter, he turned short, and entered Phrygia. There he took many cities; and made himself master of immense treasures; by which he shewed his friends, that to violate a treaty, is to despise the gods; whilst to deceive an enemy is not only just but glorious, and the way to add profit to pleasure: but, as he was inferior in cavalry, and the liver of the victim appeared without a head, he retired to Ephesus, to raise that sort of troops which he wanted. The method he took was, to insist that every man of substance, if he did not chuse to serve in person, should provide a horse and a man. Many accepted the alternative; and, instead of a parcel of † indifferent combatants, such as the rich would have made, he soon got a numerous and respectable

* He told the Persian ambassadors, "He was much obliged to "their master for the step he had taken, since by the violation "of his oath he had made the gods enemies to Persia, and friends "to Greece."

† Ψιλων ὁπλιτων, the present corrupt reading, should be altered from a passage in the Apophthegms (Ed. St. p. 369.) to δειλων και πλουσιων. The passage is this — ὡστε ταχυ συνηχθησαν και ἱπποι και ανδρες επιτηδειοι αντι ΔΕΙΑΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΩΝ.

cavalry.

cavalry. For thoſe who did not chuſe to ſerve at all, or not to ſerve as horſe, hired others who wanted neither courage nor inclination. In this he profeſſedly imitated Agamemnon, who for a good mare excuſed a daſtardly rich man the ſervice *.

One day he ordered his commiſſaries to ſell the priſoners, but to ſtrip them firſt. Their clothes found many purchaſers; but as to the priſoners themſelves, their ſkins being ſoft and white, by reaſon of their having lived ſo much within doors, the ſpectators only laughed at them, thinking they would be of no ſervice as ſlaves. Whereupon Ageſilaus, who ſtood by at the auction, ſaid to his troops, "Theſe are the perſons "whom ye fight with;" and then pointing to the rich ſpoils, "Thoſe are the things ye fight for."

When the ſeaſon called him into the field again, he gave it out that Lydia was his object. In this he did not deceive Tiſaphernes: that general deceived himſelf. For, giving no heed to the declarations of Ageſilaus, becauſe he had been impoſed upon by them before, he concluded he would now enter Caria, a country not convenient for cavalry, in which his ſtrength did not lie. Ageſilaus, as he had propoſed, went and ſate down on the plains of Sardis, and Tiſaphernes was forced to march thither in great haſte with ſuccours. The Perſian, as he advanced with his cavalry, cut off a number of the Greeks who were ſcattered up and down for plunder. Ageſilaus, however, conſidered that the enemy's infantry could not yet be come up, whereas he had all his forces about him; and therefore reſolved to give battle immediately. Purſuant to

* Then Menelaus his Podargus brings,
And the fam'd courſer of the king of kings:
Whom rich Echepolus (more rich than brave)
To 'ſcape the wars, to Agamemnon gave,
(Æthe her name) at home to end his days,
Baſe wealth preferring to eternal praiſe.
POPE, Il. xxiii.

Thus Scipio, when he went to Africa, ordered the Sicilians either to attend him, or to give him horſes or men.

this

this reſolution, he mixed his light-armed foot with the horſe, and ordered them to advance ſwiftly to the charge, while he was bringing up the heavy-armed troops, which would not be far behind. The Barbarians were ſoon put to flight; the Greeks purſued them, took their camp, and killed great numbers.

In conſequence of this ſucceſs, they could pillage the king's country in full ſecurity, and had all the ſatisfaction to ſee Tiſaphernes, a man of abandoned character, and one of the greateſt enemies to their name and nation, properly puniſhed. For the king immediately ſent Tithrauſtes againſt him, who cut off his head. At the ſame time he deſired Ageſilaus to grant him peace, promiſing him large ſums*, on condition that he would evacuate his dominions. Ageſilaus anſwered, "That his country was the ſole arbitreſs of peace. "For his own part, he rather choſe to enrich his ſol-"diers than himſelf; and the great honour among the "Greeks, was to carry home ſpoils, and not preſents "from their enemies." Nevertheleſs, to gratify Tithrauſtes, for deſtroying Tiſaphernes, the common enemy of the Greeks, he decamped and retired into Phrygia, taking thirty talents of that viceroy to defray the charges of his march.

As he was upon the road, he received the *ſcytale* from the magiſtrates of Lacedæmon, which inveſted him with the command of the navy as well as army; an honour which that city never granted to any one but himſelf. He was, indeed, (as Theopompus ſomewhere ſays) confeſſedly the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious man of his time; yet he placed his dignity rather in his virtue than his power. Notwithſtanding, there was this flaw in his character: when he had the

* He promiſed alſo to reſtore the Greek cities in Aſia to their liberty, on condition that they paid the eſtabliſhed tribute; and he hoped (he ſaid) that this condeſcenſion would perſuade Ageſilaus to accept the peace, and return home; the rather, becauſe Tiſaphernes, who was guilty of the firſt breach, was puniſhed as he deſerved.

conduct

conduct of the navy given him, he committed that charge to Piſander, when there were other officers of greater age and abilities at hand. Piſander was his wife's brother, and, in compliment to her, he reſpected that alliance more than the public good.

He took up his own quarters in the province of Pharnabazus, where he not only lived in plenty, but raiſed conſiderable ſubſidies. From thence he proceeded to Paphlagonia, and drew Cotys, the king of that country, into his intereſt, who had been ſome time deſirous of ſuch a connection, on account of the virtue and honour which marked his character. Spithridates, who was the firſt perſon of conſequence that came over from Pharnabazus, accompanied Ageſilaus in all his expeditions, and took a ſhare in all his dangers. This Spithridates had a ſon, a handſome youth, for whom Ageſilaus had a particular regard, and a beautiful daughter in the flower of her age, whom he married to Cotys. Cotys gave him a thouſand horſe, and two thouſand men draughted from his light-armed troops, and with theſe he returned to Phrygia.

Ageſilaus committed great ravages in that province; but Pharnabazus did not wait to oppoſe him, or truſt his own garriſons. Inſtead of that, he took his moſt valuable things with him, and moved from place to place, to avoid a battle. Spithridates, however, watched him ſo narrowly, that, with the aſſiſtance of * Herippidas the Spartan, at laſt he made himſelf maſter of his camp, and all his treaſures. Herippidas made it his buſineſs to examine what part of the baggage was ſecreted, and compelled the Barbarians to reſtore it; he looked, indeed, with a keen eye, into every thing. This provoked Spithridates to ſuch a degree, that he immediately marched off with the Paphlagonians to Sardis.

* Herippidas was at the head of the new council of thirty, ſent to Ageſilaus the ſecond year of the war.

There,

There was nothing in the whole war that touched Ageſilaus more nearly than this. Beſide the pain it gave him to think he had loſt Spithridates, and a conſiderable body of men with him, he was aſhamed of a mark of avarice and illiberal meanneſs, from which he had ever ſtudied to keep both himſelf and his country. Theſe were cauſes of uneaſineſs that might be publickly acknowledged; but he had a private, and more ſenſible one, in his attachment to the ſon of Spithridates; though while he was with him, he had made it a point to combat that attachment.

One day Megabates approached to ſalute him, and Ageſilaus declined that mark of his affection. The youth, after this, was more diſtant in his addreſſes. Then Ageſilaus was ſorry for the repulſe he had given him, and pretended to wonder why Megabates kept at ſuch a diſtance. His friends told him, he muſt blame himſelf for rejecting his former application. "He "would ſtill," ſaid they, "be glad to pay his moſt "obliging reſpects to you; but take care you do not "reject them again." Ageſilaus was ſilent ſome time; and when he had conſidered the thing, he ſaid, "Do "not mention it to him. For this ſecond victory over "myſelf gives me more pleaſure, than I ſhould have in "turning all I look upon to gold." This reſolution of his held while Megabates was with him; but he was ſo much affected at his departure, that it is hard to ſay how he would have behaved, if he had found him again.

After this, Pharnabazus deſired a conference with him; and Apollophanes of Cyzicus, at whoſe houſe they had both been entertained, procured an interview. Ageſilaus came firſt to the place appointed, with his friends, and ſate down upon the long graſs under a ſhade, to wait for Pharnabazus. When the Perſian grandee came, his ſervants ſpread ſoft ſkins and beautiful pieces of tapeſtry for him; but, upon ſeeing Ageſilaus ſo ſeated, he was aſhamed to make uſe of them, and placed himſelf careleſly upon the graſs

graſs in the ſame manner, though his robes were delicate, and of the fineſt colours.

After mutual ſalutations, Pharnabazus opened the conference; and he had juſt cauſe of complaint againſt the Lacedæmonians, after the ſervices he had done them in the Athenian war, and their late ravages in his country. Ageſilaus ſaw the Spartans were at a loſs for an anſwer, and kept their eyes fixed upon the ground; for they knew that Pharnabazus was injured. However, the Spartan general found an anſwer, which was as follows: "While we were friends to the king "of Perſia, we treated him and his in a friendly "manner: now we are enemies, you can expect "nothing from us but hoſtilities. Therefore, while "you, Pharnabazus, chuſe to be a vaſſal to the king, "we wound him through your ſides. Only be a "friend and ally to the Greeks, and ſhake off that "vaſſalage, and from that moment you have a right "to conſider theſe battalions, theſe arms and ſhips, in "ſhort, all that we are or have, as guardians of your "poſſeſſions, and your liberty; without which nothing "is great or deſirable among men *."

Pharnabazus then explained himſelf in theſe terms: "If the king ſends another lieutenant in my room, I "will be for you; but while he continues me in the "government, I will, to the beſt of my power, repel "force with force, and make repriſals upon you for "him." Ageſilaus, charmed with this reply, took his hand, and riſing up with him, ſaid, "Heaven "grant, that with ſuch ſentiments as theſe, you may "be our friend, and not our enemy!"

As Pharnabazus and his company were going away, his ſon, who was behind, ran up to Ageſilaus, and ſaid with a ſmile, "Sir, I enter with you into the "rights of hoſpitality." At the ſame time he gave

* He added, "However, if we continue at war, I will, for "the future, avoid your territories as much as poſſible, and ra-"ther forage and raiſe contributions in any other province." Xen. Grec. War, B. iv.

him

him a javelin which he had in his hand. Ageſilaus received it; and, delighted with his looks and kind regards, looked about for ſomething handſome to give a youth of his princely appearance in return. His ſecretary Adæus happening to have a horſe with magnificent furniture juſt by, he ordered it to be taken off and given to the young man. Nor did he forget him afterwards. In proceſs of time this Perſian was driven from his home by his brothers, and forced to take refuge in Peloponneſus. Ageſilaus then took him into his protection, and ſerved him on all occaſions. The Perſian had a favourite in the wreſtling-ring at Athens, who wanted to be introduced at the Olympic Games; but as he was paſt the proper age, they did not chuſe to admit him *. In this caſe the Perſian applied to Ageſilaus, who, willing to oblige him in this as well as other things, procured the young man the admiſſion he deſired, though not without much difficulty.

Ageſilaus, indeed, in other reſpects, was ſtrictly and inflexibly juſt; but where a man's friends were concerned, he thought a rigid regard to juſtice a mere pretence. There is ſtill extant, a ſhort letter of his to Hydrieus the Carian, which is a proof of what we have ſaid. "If Nicias is innocent, acquit him: if "he is not innocent, acquit him on my account: "however, be ſure to acquit him."

Such was the general character of Ageſilaus, as a friend. There were, indeed, times when his attachments gave way to the exigencies of ſtate. Once being obliged to decamp in a hurry, he was leaving a favourite ſick behind him. The favourite called after him, and earneſtly intreated him to come back; upon which he turned, and ſaid, "How little conſiſtent are "love and prudence!" This particular we have from Hieronymus the philoſopher.

* Sometimes boys had a ſhare in theſe exhibitions, who after a certain age were excluded the liſts.

Ageſilaus

Ageſilaus had been now two years at the head of the army, and was become the general ſubject of diſcourſe in the upper provinces. His wiſdom, his diſintereſtedneſs, his moderation, was the theme they dwelt upon with pleaſure. Whenever he made an excurſion, he lodged in the temples moſt renowned for ſanctity: and whereas on many occaſions we do not chuſe that men ſhould ſee what we are about, he was deſirous to have the gods inſpectors and witneſſes of his conduct. Among ſo many thouſands of ſoldiers as he had, there was ſcarce one who had a worſe or a harder bed than he. He was ſo fortified againſt heat and cold, that none was ſo well prepared as himſelf for whatever ſeaſons the climate ſhould produce.

The Greeks in Aſia never ſaw a more agreeable ſpectacle, than when the Perſian governors and generals, who had been inſufferably elated with power, and had rolled in riches and luxury, humbly ſubmitting and paying their court to a man in a coarſe cloak, and, upon one laconic word, conforming to his ſentiments, or rather transforming themſelves into another ſhape. Many thought that line of Timotheus applicable on this occaſion;

MARS *is the god*; *and Greece reveres not* GOLD.

All Aſia was now ready to revolt from the Perſians. Ageſilaus brought the cities under excellent regulations, and ſettled their police, without putting to death or baniſhing a ſingle ſubject. After which he reſolved to change the ſeat of war, and to remove it from the Grecian ſea to the heart of Perſia; that the king might have to fight for Ecbatana and Suſa, inſtead of ſitting at his eaſe there, to bribe the orators, and hire the ſtates of Greece to deſtroy each other. But amidſt theſe ſchemes of his, Epicydidas the Spartan came to acquaint him, that Sparta was involved in a Grecian war, and that the *Ephori* had ſent him orders to come home and defend his own country.

Unhappy Greeks! Barbarians to each other!

What better name can we give that envy which incited them to conſpire and combine for their mutual deſtruction, at a time when fortune had taken them upon her wings, and was carrying them againſt the Barbarians; and yet they clipped her wings with their own hands, and brought the war home to themſelves, which was happily removed into a foreign country*. I cannot, indeed, agree with Demaratus of Corinth, when he ſays, thoſe Greeks fell ſhort of a great happineſs, who did not live to ſee Alexander ſeated on the throne of Darius. But I think the Greeks had juſt cauſe for tears, when they conſidered that they left that to Alexander and the Macedonians, which might have been effected by the generals whom they ſlew in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth, and Arcadia.

However, of all the actions of Ageſilaus, there is none which had greater propriety, or was a ſtronger inſtance of his obedience to the laws and juſtice to the public, than his immediate return to Sparta. Hannibal, though his affairs were in a deſperate condition, and he was almoſt beaten out of Italy, made a difficulty of obeying the ſummons of his countrymen to go and defend them in a war at home. And Alexander made a jeſt of the information he received, that Agis had fought a battle with Antipater: He ſaid, "It "ſeems, my friends, that while we were conquering "Darius here, there was a combat of mice in Arca-"dia." How happy then was Sparta in the reſpect which Ageſilaus paid her, and in his reverence for the laws! No ſooner was the *ſcytala* brought him, though

* That corruption which brought the ſtates of Greece to take Perſian gold, undoubtedly deſerves cenſure. Yet we muſt take leave to obſerve, that the diviſions and jealouſies which reigned in Greece, were the ſupport of its liberties, and that Perſia was not conquered, till nothing but the ſhadow of thoſe liberties remained. Were there, indeed, a number of little independent ſtates, which made juſtice the conſtant rule of their conduct to each other, and which would be always ready to unite upon any alarm, from a formidable enemy, they might preſerve their liberties inviolate for ever.

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in the midſt of his power and good fortune, than he reſigned and abandoned his flouriſhing proſpects, ſailed home and left his great work unfiniſhed. Such was the regret his friends as well as allies had for the loſs of him, that it was a ſtrong confutation of the ſaying of Demoſtratus the Phæacian, "That the Lacedæ-"monians excelled in public, and the Athenians "in private characters." For, though he had great merit as a king and a general, yet ſtill he was a more deſirable friend, and an agreeable companion.

As the Perſian money had the impreſſion of an archer, he ſaid, "He was driven out of Aſia by ten "thouſand of the king's archers *." For the orators of Athens and Thebes, having been bribed with ſo many pieces of money, had excited their countrymen to take up arms againſt Sparta.

When he had croſſed the Helleſpont, he marched through Thrace without aſking leave of any of the Barbarians. He only deſired to know of each people, "Whether they would have him paſs as a friend, or "as an enemy." All the reſt received him with tokens of friendſhip, and ſhewed him all the civilities in their power on his way; but the † Trallians, of whom Xerxes is ſaid to have bought a paſſage, demanded of Ageſilaus a hundred talents of ſilver, and as many women. He anſwered the meſſengers ironically, "Why did not they then come to receive "them?" At the ſame time he marched forward, and finding them drawn up to oppoſe him, he gave them battle, and routed them with great ſlaughter.

* Tithrauſtes ſent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece with fifty talents, which he diſtributed at Thebes, Argos, and Corinth; but, according to Xenophon, Athens had no ſhare in that diſtribution.

† Beſide the Trallians in Lydia, there was a people of that name in Illyricum, upon the confines of Thrace and Macedonia. So at leaſt, according to Dacier, Theopompus (ap. Steph.) teſtifies. One of the MSS. inſtead of Τραλλεις, gives us Τραχαλεις. In Op. Mor. 373. 21. they are called Τρωαδες. Poſſibly it might be the Triballi.

He ſent ſome of his people to put the ſame queſtion to the king of Macedon; who anſwered, "I will con-"ſider of it." "Let him conſider," ſaid he, "in "the mean time we march." The king ſurpriſed and awed by his ſpirit, deſired him to paſs as a friend.

The Theſſalians were confederates with the enemies of Sparta, and therefore he laid waſte their territories. To the city of Lariſſa, indeed, he offered his friendſhip, by his ambaſſadors Xenocles and Scytha: but the people ſeized them and put them in priſon. His troops ſo reſented this affront, that they would have had him go and lay ſiege to the place. Ageſilaus, however, was of another mind. He ſaid, "He would not loſe "one of his ambaſſadors for gaining all Theſſaly;" and he afterwards found means to recover them by treaty. Nor are we to wonder that Ageſilaus took this ſtep, ſince, upon news being brought him that a great battle had been fought near Corinth, in which many brave men were ſuddenly taken off, but that the loſs of the Spartans was ſmall in compariſon of that of the enemy, he was not elevated in the leaſt. On the contrary, he ſaid, with a deep ſigh, "Unhappy Greece! "why haſt thou deſtroyed ſo many brave men with "thy own hands, who, had they lived, might have "conquered all the Barbarians in the world?"

However, as the Pharſalians attacked and harraſſed him in his march, he engaged them with five hundred horſe, and put them to flight. He was ſo much pleaſed with this ſucceſs, that he erected a trophy under mount Narthacium; and he valued himſelf the more upon it, becauſe with ſo ſmall a number of his own training, he had beaten a people who reckoned theirs the beſt cavalry in Greece. Here Diphridas, one of the *Ephori*, met him, and gave him orders to enter Bœotia immediately. And though his intention was to do it afterwards, when he had ſtrengthened his army with ſome reinforcements, he thought it was not right to diſobey the magiſtrates. He therefore ſaid to thoſe about him, "Now comes the day, for which we

"were

"were called out of Aſia." At the ſame time he ſent for two cohorts from the army near Corinth. And the Lacedæmonians did him the honour to cauſe proclamation to be made at home, that ſuch of the youth as were inclined to go and aſſiſt their king, might give in their names. All the young men in Sparta preſented themſelves for that ſervice; but the magiſtrates ſelected only fifty of the ableſt, and ſent them.

Ageſilaus, having paſſed the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, and traverſed Phocis, which was in friendſhip with the Spartans, entered Bœotia, and encamped upon the plains of Chæronea. He had ſcarce entrenched himſelf, when there happened an eclipſe * of the ſun. At the ſame time he received an account that Piſander was defeated at ſea, and killed, by Pharnabazus and Conon. He was much afflicted with his own loſs, as well as that of the public. Yet leſt his army, which was going to give battle, ſhould be diſcouraged at the news, he ordered the meſſengers to give out that Piſander was victorious. Nay, he appeared in public with a chaplet of flowers, returned ſolemn thanks for the pretended ſucceſs, and ſent portions of the ſacrifice to his friends.

When he came up to † Coronea, and was in view of the enemy, he drew up his army. The left wing he gave to the Orchomenians, and took the right himſelf. The Thebans alſo putting themſelves in order of battle, placed themſelves on the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon ſays, this was the moſt furious battle in his time; and he certainly was

* This eclipſe happened on the twenty ninth of Auguſt, in the third year of the ninety ſixth olympiad, three hundred and ninety two years before the chriſtian æra.

† In the printed text it is *Coronea*, nor have we any various reading. But undoubtedly *Chæronea*, upon the Cephiſus, was the place where the battle was fought; and we muſt not confound it with the battle of Coronea, in Theſſaly, fought fifty three years before.

able to judge, for he fought in it for Ageſilaus, with whom he returned from Aſia.

The firſt charge was neither violent nor laſting: The Thebans ſoon routed the Orchomenians, and Ageſilaus the Argives. But when both parties were informed that their left wings were broken and ready for flight, both haſtened to their relief. At this inſtant Ageſilaus might have ſecured to himſelf the victory without any riſque, if he would have ſuffered the Thebans to paſs, and then have charged them in the rear *: But borne along by his fury, and an ambition to diſplay his valour, he attacked them in front, in the confidence of beating them upon equal terms. They received him, however, with equal vivacity, and great efforts were exerted in all quarters, eſpecially where Ageſilaus and his fifty Spartans were engaged. It was a happy circumſtance that he had thoſe volunteers, and they could not have come more ſeaſonably. For they fought with the moſt determined valour, and expoſed their perſons to the greateſt dangers in his defence; yet they could not prevent his being wounded. He was pierced through his armour in many places with ſpears and ſwords; and though they formed a ring about him, it was with difficulty they brought him off alive, after having killed numbers of the enemy, and left not a few of their own body dead upon the ſpot. At laſt finding it impracticable to break the Theban front, they were obliged to have recourſe to a manœuvre which at firſt they ſcorned. They opened their ranks, and let the Thebans paſs; after which, obſerving that they marched in a diſorderly manner, they made up again, and took them in flank and rear. They could not, however, break them. The Thebans retreated to Helicon, valuing themſelves much upon the battle, becauſe their part of the army was a full match for the Lacedæmonians.

* Xenophon gives another turn to the matter; for with him Ageſilaus was never wrong.

Ageſilaus,

Ageſilaus, though he was much weakened by his wounds, would not retire to his tent, till he had been carried through all his battalions, and had ſeen the dead borne off upon their arms. Mean time he was informed, that a party of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of the Itonian Minerva, and he gave orders that they ſhould be diſmiſſed in ſafety. Before this temple ſtood a trophy, which the Bœotians had formerly erected, when, under the conduct of Sparton, they had defeated the Athenians, and killed their General Tolmides *.

Early next morning, Ageſilaus, willing to try whether the Thebans would renew the combat, commanded his men to wear garlands, and the muſic to play, while he reared and adorned a trophy in token of victory. At the ſame time the enemy applied to him for leave to carry off their dead; which circumſtance confirmed the victory to him. He, therefore, granted them a truce for that purpoſe, and then cauſed himſelf to be carried to Delphi, where they were celebrating the Pythian games. There he ordered a ſolemn proceſſion in honour of the God, and conſecrated to him the tenth of the ſpoils he had taken in Aſia. The offering amounted to a hundred talents.

Upon his return to Sparta, he was greatly beloved by the citizens, who admired the peculiar temperance of his life. For he did not, like other generals, come changed from a foreign country, nor, in fondneſs for the faſhions he had ſeen there, diſdain thoſe of his own. On the contrary, he ſhewed as much attachment to the Spartan cuſtoms, as thoſe who had never paſſed the Eurotas. He changed not his repaſts, his baths, the equipage of his wife, the ornaments of his armour, or the furniture of his houſe. He ever let his doors remain, which were ſo old that they ſeemed to be thoſe ſet up by Ariſtode-

* In the battle of Coronea.

mus*. Xenophon alſo aſſures us, that his daughter's carriage was not in the leaſt richer than thoſe of other young ladies. Theſe carriages, called *canathra*, and made uſe of by the virgins in their ſolemn proceſſions, were a kind of wooden chaiſes, made in the form of griffins, or goat-ſtags †. Xenophon has not given us the name of this daughter of Ageſilaus: and Dicæarchus is greatly diſſatisfied, that neither her name is preſerved, nor that of the mother of Epaminondas. But we find by ſome Lacedæmonian inſcriptions, that the wife of Ageſilaus was called Cleora, and his daughters ‡ Apolia and Prolyta. We ſee alſo at Lacedæmon the ſpear he fought with, which differs not from others.

As he obſerved that many of the citizens valued themſelves upon breeding horſes for the Olympic games, he perſuaded his ſiſter Cyniſca to make an attempt that way, and to try her fortune in the chariot-race in perſon. This he did, to ſhew the Greeks that a victory of that kind did not depend upon any extraordinary ſpirit or abilities, but only upon riches and expence.

Xenophon, ſo famed for wiſdom, ſpent much of his time with him, and he treated him with great reſpect. He alſo deſired him to ſend for his ſons, that they might have the benefit of a Spartan education, by which they would gain the beſt knowledge in the world, the knowing how to command, and how to obey.

After the death of Lyſander, he found out a conſpiracy, which that general had formed againſt him immediately after his return from Aſia. And he was inclined

* Ariſtodemus, the ſon of Hercules, and founder of the royal family of Sparta, flouriſhed eleven hundred years before the Chriſtian æra; ſo that the gates of Ageſilaus's palace, if ſet up by Ariſtodemus, had then ſtood ſeven hundred and eight years.

† In the original τραγιλαφων. Cervorum eſt ſpecie tragelaphus barba tantum et armorum villo diſtans. PLIN.

‡ *Eupolia* and *Proauga*. Cod. Vulcob.

to

to ſhew the public what kind of man Lyſander really was, by expoſing an oration found among his papers, which had been compoſed for him by Cleon of Halicarnaſſus, and was to have been delivered by him to the people, in order to facilitate the innovations he was meditating in the conſtitution. But one of the ſenators having the peruſal of it, and finding it a very plauſible compoſition, adviſed him "not to "dig Lyſander out of his grave, but rather to bury "the oration with him." The advice appeared reaſonable, and he ſuppreſſed the paper.

As for the perſons who oppoſed his meaſures moſt, he made no open repriſals upon them; but he found means to employ them as generals or governors. When inveſted with power, they ſoon ſhewed what unworthy and avaricious men they were, and in conſequence were called to account for their proceedings. Then he uſed to aſſiſt them in their diſtreſs, and labour to get them acquitted; by which he made them friends and partizans inſtead of adverſaries; ſo that at laſt he had no oppoſition to contend with. For his royal collegue * Ageſipolis, being the ſon of an exile, very young, and of a mild and modeſt diſpoſition, interfered not much in the affairs of government. Ageſilaus contrived to make him yet more tractable. The two kings, when they were in Sparta, eat at the ſame table. Ageſilaus knew that Ageſipolis was open to the impreſſions of love as well as himſelf, and therefore conſtantly turned the converſation upon ſome amiable young perſon. He even aſſiſted him in his views that way, and brought him at laſt to fix upon the ſame favourite with himſelf. For at Sparta there is nothing criminal in theſe attachments: on the contrary, (as we have obſerved in the life of Lycurgus,) ſuch love is productive of the greateſt modeſty and honour, and its characteriſtic is an ambition to improve the object in virtue.

* Ageſipolis was the ſon of Pauſanias.

Age-

Ageſilaus, thus powerful in Sparta, had the addreſs to get Teleutias, his brother by the mother's ſide, appointed admiral. After which, he marched againſt Corinth * with his land-forces, and took the long walls; Teleutias aſſiſting his operations by ſea. The Argives, who were then in poſſeſſion of Corinth, were celebrating the Iſthmian Games; and Ageſilaus coming upon them as they were engaged in the ſacrifice, drove them away, and ſeized upon all that they had prepared for the feſtival. The Corinthian exiles who attended him, deſired him to undertake the exhibition, as preſident; but not chuſing that, he ordered them to proceed with the ſolemnity, and ſtayed to guard them. But when he was gone, the Argives celebrated the games over again; and ſome who had gained the prize before, had the ſame good fortune a ſecond time; others who were victorious then, were now in the liſt of the vanquiſhed. Lyſander took the opportunity to remark how great the cowardice of the Argives muſt be, who, while they reckoned the preſidency at thoſe games ſo honourable a privilege, did not dare to riſk a battle for it. He was, indeed, of opinion, that a moderate regard for this ſort of diverſions was beſt, and applied himſelf to embelliſh the choirs and public exerciſes of his own country. When he was at Sparta, he honoured them with his preſence, and ſupported them with great zeal and ſpirit, never miſſing any of the exerciſes of the young men or the virgins. As for other entertainments, ſo much admired by the world, he ſeemed not even to know them.

One day Callipedes, who had acquired great reputation among the Greeks as a tragedian, and was univerſally careſſed, approached and paid his reſpects to him;

* There were two expeditions of Ageſilaus againſt Corinth; Plutarch in this place confounds them; whereas Xenophon, in his fourth book, has diſtinguiſhed them very clearly. The enterprize in which Teleutias aſſiſted, did not ſucceed; for Iphicrates, the Athenian general, kept Corinth and its territories from feeling the effects of Ageſilaus's reſentment.

after

after which he mixed with a pompous air in his train, expecting he would take ſome honourable notice of him. At laſt he ſaid, "Do not you know me, Sir?" The king caſting his eyes upon him, anſwered ſlightly, "Are you not Callipides the ſtage-player?" Another time, being aſked to go and hear a man who mimicked the nightingale to great perfection, he refuſed, and ſaid, "I have heard the nightingale herſelf."

Menecrates the phyſician, having ſucceeded in ſome deſperate caſes, got the ſurname of Jupiter. And he was ſo vain of the appellation, that he made uſe of it in a letter to the king. "Menecrates Jupiter to king "Ageſilaus, health." His anſwer began thus; "King Ageſilaus to Menecrates, his ſenſes."

While he was in the territories of Corinth, he took the temple of Juno; and as he ſtood looking upon the ſoldiers who were carrying off the priſoners and the ſpoils, ambaſſadors came from Thebes with propoſals of peace. He had ever hated that city; and now thinking it neceſſary to expreſs his contempt for it, he pretended not to ſee the ambaſſadors, nor to hear their addreſs, though they were before him. Heaven, however, avenged the affront. Before they were gone, news was brought him, that a battalion of Spartans was cut in pieces by Iphicrates. This was one of the greateſt loſſes his country had ſuſtained for a long time: and beſide being deprived of a number of brave men, there was this farther mortification, that their heavy-armed ſoldiers were beaten by the light-armed, and Lacedæmonians by mercenaries.

Ageſilaus immediately marched to their aſſiſtance; but finding it too late, he returned to the temple of Juno, and acquainted the Bœotian ambaſſadors that he was ready to give them audience. Glad of the opportunity to return the inſult, they came, but made no mention of the peace. They only deſired a ſafe conduct to Corinth. Ageſilaus, provoked at the demand, anſwered, "If you are deſirous to ſee your friends in "the elevation of ſucceſs, to-morrow you ſhall do it

"with

"with all the ſecurity you can deſire." Accordingly, the next day he laid waſte the territories of Corinth, and taking them with him, advanced to the very walls. Thus having ſhewn the ambaſſadors, that the Corinthians did not dare to oppoſe him, he diſmiſſed them: then he collected ſuch of his countrymen as had eſcaped in the late action, and marched to Lacedæmon; taking care every day to move before it was light, and to encamp after it was dark, to prevent the inſults of the Arcadians, to whoſe averſion and envy he was no ſtranger.

After this, to gratify the * Achæans, he led his forces, along with theirs, into Acarnania, where he made an immenſe booty, and defeated the Acarnanians in a pitched battle. The Achæans deſired him to ſtay till winter, in order to prevent the enemy from ſowing their lands. But he ſaid, "The ſtep he ſhould take, "would be the very reverſe; for they would be more "afraid of war, when they had their fields covered "with corn." The event juſtified his opinion. Next year, as ſoon as an army appeared upon their borders, they made peace with the Achæans.

When Conon and Pharnabazus, with the Perſian fleet, had made themſelves maſters of the ſea, they ravaged the coaſts of Laconia; and the walls of Athens were rebuilt with the money which Pharnabazus ſupplied. The Lacedæmonians then thought proper to conclude a peace with the Perſians, and ſent Antalcidas to make their propoſals to Tiribazus. Antalcidas, on this occaſion, acted an infamous part to the Greeks in Aſia; and delivered up thoſe cities to the king of Perſia, for whoſe liberty Ageſilaus had fought. No part of the diſhonour, indeed, fell upon Ageſilaus. Antal-

* The Achæans were in poſſeſſion of Calydon, which before had belonged to the Ætolians. The Acarnanians, now aſſiſted by the Athenians and Bœotians, attempted to make themſelves maſters of it. But the Achæans applied to the Lacedæmonians for ſuccours, who employed Ageſilaus in that buſineſs.
XEN. Gr. Hiſt. Book iv.

cidas

cidas was his enemy, and he haſtened the peace by all the means he could deviſe, becauſe he knew the war contributed to the reputation and power of the man he hated. Nevertheleſs, when Ageſilaus was told, "the "Lacedæmonians were turning Medes," he ſaid, "No; the Medes are turning Lacedæmonians." And as ſome of the Greeks were unwilling to be comprehended in the treaty, he forced them to accept the king's terms, by threatening them with war *.

His view in this was, to weaken the Thebans; for it was one of the conditions, that the cities of Bœotia ſhould be free and independent. The ſubſequent events made the matter very clear. When Phœbidas, in the moſt unjuſtifiable manner, had ſeized the citadel of Cadmea in time of full peace, the Greeks in general expreſſed their indignation; and many of the Spartans did the ſame; particularly thoſe who were at variance with Ageſilaus. Theſe aſked him, in an angry tone, "By whoſe orders Phœbidas "had done ſo unjuſt a thing;" hoping to bring the blame upon him. He ſcrupled not to ſay, in behalf of Phœbidas, "You ſhould examine the tendency of "the action; conſider whether it is advantageous to "Sparta. If its nature is ſuch, it was glorious to do it "without any orders." Yet in his diſcourſe he was always magnifying juſtice, and giving her the firſt rank among the virtues. "Unſupported by † juſtice,"

* The king of Perſia's terms were: That the Greek cities in Aſia, with the iſlands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, ſhould remain to him: that all the other ſtates, ſmall and great, ſhould be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which, having been from time immemorial ſubject to the Athenians, ſhould remain ſo: and that ſuch as refuſed to embrace the peace, ſhould be compelled to admit it by force of arms. XEN. Hellan. Lib. v. This peace of Antalcidas was made in the year before Chriſt, 387.

† This is not the only inſtance, in which we find it was a maxim among the Lacedæmonians, that a man ought to be ſtrictly juſt in his private capacity, but that he may take what latitude he pleaſes in a public one, provided his country is a gainer by it,

ſaid

ſaid he, "valour is good for nothing; and, if all men "were juſt, there would be no need of valour." If any one, in the courſe of converſation, happened to ſay, "Such is the pleaſure of the great king;" he would anſwer, "How is he greater than I, if he is not "more juſt?" Which implies a maxim indiſputably right, that juſtice is the royal inſtrument by which we are to take the different proportions of human excellence.

After the peace was concluded, the king of Perſia ſent him a letter, whoſe purport was to propoſe a private friendſhip and the rights of hoſpitality between them; but he declined it. He ſaid, "The public "friendſhip was ſufficient; and while that laſted, "there was no need of a private one."

Yet he did not regulate his conduct by theſe honourable ſentiments: on the contrary, he was often carried away by his ambition and reſentment. Particularly in this affair of the Thebans, he not only ſcreened Phœbidas from puniſhment, but perſuaded the Spartan commonwealth to join in his crime, by holding the Cadmea for themſelves, and putting the Theban adminiſtration in the hands of Archias and Leontidas, who had betrayed the citadel to Phœbidas. Hence it was natural to ſuſpect, that though Phœbidas was the inſtrument, the deſign was formed by Ageſilaus, and the ſubſequent proceedings confirmed it beyond contradiction. For when the * Athenians had expelled the garriſon, and reſtored the Thebans to their liberty, he declared war againſt the latter for putting to death Archias and Leontidas, whom he called *polemarchs*, but who in fact were tyrants. Cleombrotus †, who upon the death of Ageſipolis ſucceeded to the throne, was ſent with an army into Bœotia. For Ageſilaus, who was now forty years above the age of puberty, and

* See XEN. Grec. Hiſt. L. v. whence it appears that the Cadmea was recovered by the Athenian forces.

† Cleombrotus was the youngeſt ſon of Pauſanias, and brother to Ageſipolis.

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conſequently excuſed from ſervice by law, was very willing to decline this commiſſion. Indeed, as he had lately made war upon the Phliaſians in favour of exiles, he was aſhamed now to appear in arms againſt the Thebans for tyrants.

There was then a Lacedæmonian named Sphodrias, of the party that oppoſed Ageſilaus, lately appointed governor of Theſpiæ. He wanted neither courage nor ambition, but he was governed rather by ſanguine hopes than good ſenſe and prudence. This man, fond of a great name, and reflecting how Phœbidas had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the liſts of fame by his Theban enterprize, was perſuaded it would be a much greater and more glorious performance, if without any directions from his ſuperiors he could ſeize upon the Piræus, and deprive the Athenians of the empire of the ſea, by a ſudden attack at land.

It is ſaid, that this was a train laid for him by Pelopidas and Gelon, firſt magiſtrates in Bœotia *. They ſent perſons to him, who pretended to be much in the Spartan intereſt, and who by magnifying him as the only man fit for ſuch an exploit, worked up his ambition till he undertook a thing equally unjuſt and deteſtable with the affair of the Cadmea, but conducted with leſs valour, and attended with leſs ſucceſs. He hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but day-light overtook him upon the plains of Thriaſia. And we are told, that ſome light appearing to the ſoldiers to ſtream from the temples of Eleuſis, they were ſtruck with a religious horror. Sphodrias himſelf loſt his ſpirit of adventure, when he found his march could no longer be concealed; and having collected ſome trifling booty, he returned with diſgrace to Theſpiæ.

Hereupon, the Athenians ſent deputies to Sparta, to complain of Sphodrias; but they found the magiſ-

* They feared the Lacedæmonians were too ſtrong for them, and therefore put Sphodrias upon this act of hoſtility againſt the Athenians, in order to draw them into the quarrel.

trates

trates had proceeded againſt him without their complaints, and that he was already under a capital proſecution. He had not dared to appear and take his trial; for he dreaded the rage of his countrymen, who were aſhamed of his conduct to the Athenians, and who were willing to reſent the injury as done to themſelves, rather than have it thought that they had joined in ſo flagrant an act of injuſtice.

Sphodrias had a ſon named Cleonymus, young and handſome, and a particular favourite of Archidamus, the ſon of Ageſilaus. Archidamus, as it is natural to ſuppoſe, ſhared in all the uneaſineſs of the young man for his father; but he knew not how to appear openly in his behalf, becauſe Sphodrias had been a ſtrong adverſary to Ageſilaus. However, as Cleonymus applied to him, and intreated him with many tears to intercede with Ageſilaus, as the perſon whom they had moſt reaſon to dread, he undertook the commiſſion. Three or four days paſſed, during which he was reſtrained by a reverential awe from ſpeaking of the matter to his father; but he followed him up and down in ſilence. At laſt, when the day of trial was at hand, he ſummoned up courage enough to ſay, Cleonymus was a ſuppliant to him for his father. Ageſilaus, knowing the attachment of his ſon to that youth, did not lay any injunctions upon him againſt it. For Cleonymus, from his infancy, had given hopes that he would one day rank with the worthieſt men in Sparta. Yet he did not give him room to expect any great favour in this caſe: he only ſaid, "He would "conſider what would be the conſiſtent and honoura-"ble part for him to act."

Archidamus, therefore, aſhamed of the inefficacy of his interpoſition, diſcontinued his viſits to Cleonymus, though before he uſed to call upon him many times in a day. Hence the friends of Sphodrias gave up the point for loſt; till an intimate acquaintance of Ageſilaus, named Etymocles, in a converſation which paſſed between them, diſcovered the ſentiments of that prince.

prince. He told him, "he highly diſapproved that "attempt of Sphodrias, yet he looked upon him as a "brave man, and was ſenſible that Sparta had occa- "ſion for ſuch ſoldiers as he." This was the way, indeed, in which Ageſilaus conſtantly ſpoke of the cauſe, in order to oblige his ſon. By this Cleonymus immediately perceived, with how much zeal Archidamus had ſerved him; and the friends of Sphodrias appeared with more courage in his behalf. Ageſilaus was certainly a moſt affectionate father. It is ſaid, when his children were ſmall, he would join in their ſports; and a friend happening to find him one day riding among them upon a ſtick, he deſired him "not "to mention it, till he was a father himſelf."

Sphodrias was acquitted; upon which the Athenians prepared for war. This drew the cenſures of the world upon Ageſilaus, who, to gratify an abſurd and childiſh inclination of his ſon, obſtructed the courſe of juſtice, and brought his country under the reproach of ſuch flagrant offences againſt the Greeks. As he found his collegue Cleombrotus * diſinclined to continue the war with the Thebans, he dropt the excuſe the law furniſhed him with, though he had made uſe of it before, and marched himſelf into Bœotia. The Thebans ſuffered much from his operations, and he felt the ſame from theirs in his turn. So that Antalcidas one day ſeeing him come off wounded, thus addreſſed him: "The Thebans pay you well for teaching them "to fight, when they had neither inclination nor ſuf- "ficient ſkill for it." It is certain the Thebans were at this time much more formidable in the field than they had ever been; after having been trained and exerciſed in ſo many wars with the Lacedæmonians. For the ſame reaſon their ancient ſage, Lycurgus, in one of his three ordinances called *Rhetræ*, forbad them

* Xenophon ſays, the *Ephori* thought Ageſilaus, as a more experienced general, would conduct the war better than Cleombrotus. *Τοῦ υἱοῦ* has nothing to do in the text.

to go to war with the ſame enemy often; namely, to prevent the enemy from learning their art.

The allies of Sparta likewiſe complained of Ageſilaus, "That it was not in any public quarrel, but "from an obſtinate ſpirit of * private reſentment, that "he ſought to deſtroy the Thebans. For their part," they ſaid, "they were wearing themſelves out, with-"out any occaſion, by going in ſuch numbers upon "this or that expedition every year, at the will of a "handful of Lacedæmonians." Hereupon, Ageſilaus, deſirous to ſhew them that the number of their warriors was not ſo great, ordered all the allies to ſit down promiſcuouſly on one ſide, and all the Lacedæmonians on the other. This done, the crier ſummoned the trades to ſtand up one after another; the potters firſt, and then the braziers, the carpenters, the maſons, in ſhort, all the mechanics. Almoſt all the allies roſe up to anſwer in one branch of buſineſs or other, but not one of the Lacedæmonians; for they were forbidden to learn or exerciſe any manual art. Then Ageſilaus ſmiled and ſaid, "You ſee, my "friends, we ſend more warriors into the field than "you."

When he was come as far as Megara, upon his return from Thebes, as he was going up to the † ſenate-houſe in the citadel, he was ſeized with ſpaſms and an acute pain in his right leg. It ſwelled immediately, the veſſels were diſtended with blood, and there appeared all the ſigns of a violent inflammation. A Syracuſan phyſician opened a vein below the ancle; upon which the pain abated; but the blood came ſo faſt, that it was not ſtopt without great difficulty, nor till he fainted away, and his life was in danger. He

* This private reſentment and enmity which Ageſilaus entertained againſt the Thebans, went near to bring ruin both upon himſelf and his country.

† Xenophon (Hellan. 337, 12 Ed. St.) ſays, it was as he was going from the temple of Venus to the ſenat.-houſe.

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was carried to Lacedæmon in a weak condition, and continued a long time incapable of ſervice.

In the mean time the Spartans met with ſeveral checks both by ſea and land. The moſt conſiderable loſs was at * Leuctra, which was the firſt pitched battle the Thebans gained againſt them. Before the laſt mentioned action, all parties were diſpoſed to peace, and the ſtates of Greece ſent their deputies to Lacedæmon to treat of it. Among theſe was Epaminondas, who was celebrated for his erudition and philoſophy, but had as yet given no proofs of his capacity for commanding armies. He ſaw the other deputies were awed by the preſence of Ageſilaus, and he was the only one who preſerved a proper dignity and freedom both in his manner and his propoſitions. He made a ſpeech in favour, not only of the Thebans, but of Greece in general; in which he ſhewed that war tended to aggrandiſe Sparta, at the expence of the other ſtates; and inſiſted that the peace ſhould be founded upon juſtice and equality; becauſe then only it would be laſting, when all were put upon an equal footing.

Ageſilaus perceiving that the Greeks liſtened to him with wonder and great attention, aſked him, "Whether "he thought it juſt and equitable that the cities of "Bœotia ſhould be declared free and independent." Epaminondas, with great readineſs and ſpirit, anſwered him with another queſtion, "Do you think it rea-"ſonable that all the cities of Laconia ſhould be de-"clared independent?" Ageſilaus, incenſed at this anſwer, ſtarted up, and inſiſted upon his declaring peremptorily, "Whether he agreed to a perfect inde-"pendence for Bœotia;" and Epaminondas replied as before, "On condition you put Laconia in the ſame

* Some manuſcripts have it *Tegyra*; but here is no neceſſity to alter the received reading; though Palmer inſiſts ſo much upon it. For that of Leuctra was certainly the firſt pitched battle in which the Thebans defeated the Athenians; and they effected it at the firſt career. Beſides, it appears from Xenophon, (*Hellan.* 349, 25.) that Ageſilaus was not then recovered of the ſickneſs mentioned in the text.

"ſtate." Ageſilaus, now exaſperated to the laſt degree, and glad of a pretence againſt the Thebans, ſtruck their name out of the treaty, and declared war againſt them upon the ſpot. After the reſt of the deputies had ſigned ſuch points as they could ſettle amicably, he diſmiſſed them; leaving others of a more difficult nature to be decided by the ſword.

As Cleombrotus had then an army in Phocis, the *Ephori* ſent him orders to march againſt the Thebans. At the ſame time they ſent their commiſſaries to aſſemble the allies, who were ill inclined to the war, and conſidered it as a great burthen upon them, though they durſt not contradict or oppoſe the Lacedæmonians. Many inauſpicious ſigns and prodigies appeared, as we have obſerved in the life of Epaminondas; and Protheus * the Spartan oppoſed the war to the utmoſt of his power. But Ageſilaus could not be driven from his purpoſe. He prevailed to have hoſtilities commenced; in hopes, that while the reſt of Greece was in a ſtate of freedom, and in alliance with Sparta, and the Thebans only excepted, he ſhould have an excellent opportunity to chaſtiſe them. That the war was undertaken to gratify his reſentment, rather than upon rational motives, appears from hence: the treaty was concluded at Lacedæmon on the fourteenth of *June*, and the Lacedæmonians were defeated at Leuctra on the fifth of *July*; which was only twenty days after. A thouſand citizens of Lacedæmon were killed there, among whom were their king Cleombrotus and the flower of their army, who fell by his ſide. The beautiful Cleonymus, the ſon of Sphodrias, was of

* Protheus propoſed that the Spartans ſhould diſband their army according to their engagement; that all the ſtates ſhould carry their contributions to the temple of Apollo, to be employed only in making war upon ſuch as ſhould oppoſe the liberty of the cities. This, he ſaid, would give the cauſe the ſanction of Heaven, and the ſtates of Greece would at all times be ready to embark in it. But the Spartans only laughed at this advice; for, as Xenophon adds, "It looked as if the Gods were already urging "on the Lacedæmonians to their ruin."

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the number: he was ſtruck down three ſeveral times, as he was fighting in defence of his prince, and roſe up as often; and at laſt was killed with his ſword in his hand *.

After the Lacedæmonians had received this unexpected blow, and the Thebans were crowned with more glorious ſucceſs, than Greeks had ever boaſted in a battle with Greeks, the ſpirit and dignity of the vanquiſhed was, notwithſtanding, more to be admired and applauded than that of the conquerors. And indeed, if, as Xenophon ſays, "Men of merit, "in their convivial converſations let fall ſome expreſ- "ſions that deſerve to be remarked and preſerved; "certainly the noble behaviour and the expreſſions of "ſuch perſons, when ſtruggling with adverſity, claim "our notice much more." When the Spartans received the news of the overthrow at Leuctra, it happened that they were celebrating a feſtival, and the city was full of ſtrangers: for the troops of young men and maidens were at their exerciſes in the theatre. The *Ephori*, though they immediately perceived that their affairs were ruined, and that they had loſt the empire of Greece, would not ſuffer the ſports to break off, nor any of the ceremonies or decorations of the feſtival to be omitted; but having ſent the names of

* Epaminondas placed his beſt troops in one wing, and thoſe he leaſt depended on in the other. The former he commanded in perſon; to the latter he gave directions, that, when they found the enemy's charge too heavy, they ſhould retire leiſurely, ſo as to expoſe to them a ſloping front. Cleombrotus and Archidamus advanced to the charge with great vigour; but, as they preſſed on the Theban wing which retired, they gave Epaminondas an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front; which he did with ſo much bravery, that the Spartans began to give way, eſpecially after Cleombrotus was ſlain, whoſe dead body, however, they recovered. At length, they were totally defeated, chiefly by the ſkill and conduct of the Theban general. Four thouſand Spartans were killed on the field of battle; whereas the Thebans did not loſe above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of Leuctra, wherein the Spartans loſt their ſuperiority in Greece, which they had held near five hundred years.

the killed to their reſpective families, they ſtayed to ſee the exerciſes, the dances, and all other parts of the exhibition concluded *.

Next morning, the names of the killed, and of thoſe who ſurvived the battle, being perfectly aſcertained, the fathers and other relations of the dead, appeared in public, and embraced each other with a chearful air and a generous pride; while the relations of the ſurvivors ſhut themſelves up, as in time of mourning. And if any one was forced to go out upon buſineſs, he ſhewed all the tokens of ſorrow and humiliation both in his ſpeech and countenance. The difference was ſtill more remarkable among the matrons. They who expected to receive their ſons alive from the battle, were melancholy and ſilent; whereas thoſe who had an account that their ſons were ſlain, repaired immediately to the temples to return thanks, and viſited each other with all the marks of joy and elevation.

The people, who were now deſerted by their allies, and expected that Epaminondas, in the pride of victory, would enter Peloponneſus, called to mind the oracle, which they applied again to the lameneſs of Ageſilaus. The ſcruples they had on this occaſion, diſcouraged them extremely, and they were afraid the divine diſpleaſure had brought upon them the late calamity, for expelling a ſound man from the throne, and preferring a lame one, in ſpite of the extraordinary warnings Heaven had given them againſt it. Nevertheleſs, in regard of his virtue, his authority, and renown, they looked upon him as the only man who could retrieve their affairs; for, beſide marching under

* But where was the merit of all this? What could ſuch a conduct have for its ſupport but either inſenſibility or affectation? If they found any reaſon to rejoice in the glorious deaths of their friends and fellow-citizens, certainly the ruin of the ſtate was an object ſufficiently ſerious to call them from the purſuits of feſtivity! But, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat:* The infatuation of ambition and jealouſy drew upon them the Theban war, and it ſeemed to laſt upon them, even when they had felt its fatal conſequences.

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his banners as their prince and general, they applied to him in every internal diſorder of the commonwealth. At preſent they were at a loſs what to do with thoſe who had fled from the battle. The Lacedæmonians call ſuch perſons *treſantas**. In this caſe they did not chuſe to ſet ſuch marks of diſgrace upon them as the laws directed, becauſe they were ſo numerous and powerful, that there was reaſon to apprehend it might occaſion an inſurrection. For ſuch perſons are not only excluded all offices, but it is infamous to intermarry with them. Any man that meets them is at liberty to ſtrike them. They are obliged to appear in a forlorn manner, and in a vile habit, with patches of divers colours; and to wear their beards half ſhaved and half unſhaved. To put ſo rigid a law as this in execution, at a time when the offenders were ſo numerous, and when the commonwealth had ſo much occaſion for ſoldiers, was both impolitic and dangerous.

In this perplexity they had recourſe to Ageſilaus, and inveſted him with new powers of legiſlation. But he, without making any addition, retrenchment, or change, went into the aſſembly, and told the Lacedæmonians, "The laws ſhould ſleep that day, and "reſume their authority the day following, and re-"tain it for ever." By this means he preſerved to the ſtate it's laws entire, as well as the obnoxious perſons from infamy. Then, in order to raiſe the youth out of the depreſſion and melancholy under which they laboured, he entered Arcadia at the head of them. He avoided a battle, indeed, with great care, but he took a little town of the Mantineans, and ravaged the flat country. This reſtored Sparta to her ſpirits in ſome degree, and gave her reaſon to hope that ſhe was not abſolutely loſt.

Soon after this, Epaminondas and his allies entered Laconia. His infantry amounted to forty thouſand men, excluſive of the light-armed, and thoſe who, without arms, followed only for plunder. For, if the

* That is, *perſons governed by their fears.*

whole were reckoned, there were not fewer than ſeventy thouſand that poured into that country. Full ſix hundred years were elapſed ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Dorians in Lacedæmon, and this was the firſt time, in all that long period, they had ſeen an enemy in their territories; none ever dared to ſet foot in them before. But now a new ſcene of hoſtilities appeared; the confederates advanced without reſiſtance, laying all waſte with fire and ſword, as far as the Eurotas, and the very ſuburbs of Sparta. For, as Theopompus informs us, Ageſilaus would not ſuffer the Lacedæmonians to engage with ſuch an impetuous torrent of war. He contented himſelf with placing his beſt infantry in the middle of the city, and other important poſts; and bore the menaces and inſults of the Thebans, who called him out by name, as the firebrand which had lighted up the war, and bade him fight for his country, upon which he had brought ſo many misfortunes.

Ageſilaus was equally diſturbed at the tumult and diſorder within the city, the outcries of the old men, who moved backwards and forwards, expreſſing their grief and indignation, and the wild behaviour of the women, who were terrified even to madneſs at the ſhouts of the enemy, and the flames which aſcended around them. He was in pain, too, for his reputation. Sparta was a great and powerful ſtate at his acceſſion, and he now ſaw her glory wither, and his own boaſts come to nothing. It ſeems, he had often ſaid, "No "Spartan woman ever ſaw the ſmoak of an enemy's "camp." In like manner, when an Athenian diſputed with Antalcidas, on the ſubject of valour, and ſaid, "We have often driven you from the banks "of the Cephiſus," Antalcidas anſwered, "But we "never drove you from the banks of the Eurotas." Near akin to this, was the repartee of a Spartan of leſs note, to a man of Argos, who ſaid, "Many of you "ſleep on the plains of Argos." The Spartan anſwered,

ſwered, "But not one of you ſleeps on the plains of "Lacedæmon."

Some ſay, Antalcidas was then one of the *Ephori*, and that he conveyed his children to Cythera, in fear that Sparta would be taken. As the enemy prepared to paſs the Eurotas, in order to attack the town itſelf, Ageſilaus relinquiſhed the other poſts, and drew up all his forces on an eminence in the middle of the city. It happened that the river was much ſwoln with the ſnow which had fallen in great quantities, and the cold was more troubleſome to the Thebans than the rapidity of the current; yet Epaminondas forded it at the head of his infantry. As he was paſſing it, ſomebody pointed him out to Ageſilaus; who, after having viewed him for ſome time, only let fall this expreſſion, "O "adventurous man!" All the ambition of Epaminondas was to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but finding he could not draw down Ageſilaus from the heights, he decamped, and laid waſte the country.

There had long been a diſaffected party in Lacedæmon, and now about two hundred of that party leagued together, and ſeized upon a ſtrong poſt, called the *Iſſorium*, in which ſtood the temple of Diana. The Lacedæmonians wanted to have the place ſtormed immediately: But Ageſilaus, apprehenſive of an inſurrection in their favour, took his cloak and one ſervant with him, and told them aloud, "That they "had miſtaken their orders. I did not order you," ſaid he, "to take poſt here, nor all in any one place, "but ſome there," (pointing to another place,) "and "ſome in other quarters." When they heard this, they were happy in thinking their deſign was not diſcovered; and they came out, and went to ſeveral poſts as he directed them. At the ſame time he lodged another corps in the *Iſſorium*, and took about fifteen of the mutineers, and put them to death in the night.

Soon

Soon after this, he diſcovered another, and much greater conſpiracy of Spartans, who met privately in a houſe belonging to one of them, to conſider of means to change the form of government. It was dangerous either to bring them to a trial in a time of ſo much trouble, or to let their cabals paſs without notice. Ageſilaus, therefore, having conſulted with the *Ephori*, put them to death without the formality of a trial, though no Spartan had ever ſuffered in that manner before.

As many of the neighbouring burghers and of the *Helots* who were enliſted, ſlunk away from the town, and deſerted to the enemy, and this greatly diſcouraged his forces, he ordered his ſervants to go early in the morning to the quarters, and where they found any had deſerted, to hide their arms, that their numbers might not be known.

Hiſtorians do not agree as to the time when the Thebans quitted Laconia. Some ſay the winter ſoon forced them to retire; the Arcadians being impatient of a campaign at that ſeaſon, and falling off in a very diſorderly manner: others affirm, that the Thebans ſtayed full three months, in which time they laid waſte almoſt all the country. Theopompus writes, that at the very juncture the governors of Bœotia had ſent them orders to return, there came a Spartan, named Phrixus, on the part of Ageſilaus, and gave them ten talents to leave Laconia. So that, according to him, they not only executed all that they intended, but had money from the enemy to defray the expences of their return. For my part, I cannot conceive how Theopompus came to be acquainted with this particular, which other hiſtorians knew nothing of.

It is univerſally agreed, however, that Ageſilaus ſaved Sparta, by controuling his native paſſions of obſtinacy and ambition, and purſuing no meaſures but what were ſafe. He could not, indeed, after the late blow, reſtore her to her former glory and power.

As

As healthy bodies, long accuſtomed to a ſtrict and regular diet, often find one deviation from that regimen fatal, ſo one miſcarriage brought that flouriſhing ſtate to decay. Nor is it to be wondered at. Their conſtitution was admirably formed for peace, for virtue, and harmony: but when they wanted to add to their dominions by force of arms, and to make acquiſitions which Lycurgus thought unneceſſary to their happineſs, they ſplit upon that rock he had warned them to avoid.

Ageſilaus now declined the ſervice on account of his great age. But his ſon Archidamus, having received ſome ſuccours from Dionyſius the Sicilian tyrant, fought the Arcadians, and gained that which is called *the tearleſs battle*; for he killed great numbers of the enemy, without loſing a man himſelf.

Nothing could afford a greater proof of the weakneſs of Sparta, than this victory. Before, it had been ſo common, and ſo natural a thing, for Spartans to conquer, that on ſuch occaſions they offered no greater ſacrifice than a cock; the combatants were not elated, nor thoſe who received the tidings of victory overjoyed. Even when that great battle was fought at Mantinea, which Thucydides has ſo well deſcribed, the *Ephori* preſented the perſon who brought them the firſt news of their ſucceſs, with nothing but a meſs of meat from the public table. But now, when an account of this battle was brought, and Archidamus approached the town, they were not able to contain themſelves. Firſt his father advanced to meet him with tears of joy, and after him the magiſtrates. Multitudes of old men and of women flocked to the river, ſtretching out their hands, and bleſſing the gods, as if Sparta had waſhed off her late unworthy ſtains, and ſeen her glory ſtream out afreſh. Till that hour the men were ſo much aſhamed of the loſs they had ſuſtained, that, it is ſaid, they could not even carry it with an unembarraſſed countenance to the women.

When

When Epaminondas re-eſtabliſhed Meſſene, and the ancient inhabitants returned to it from all quarters, the Spartans had not courage to oppoſe him in the field. But it gave them great concern, and they could not look upon Ageſilaus without anger, when they conſidered that in his reign they had loſt a country full as extenſive as Laconia, and ſuperior in fertility to all the provinces of Greece; a country whoſe revenues they had long called their own. For this reaſon, Ageſilaus rejected the peace, which the Thebans offered him; not chuſing formally to give up to them, what they were in fact poſſeſſed of. But while he was contending for what he could not recover, he was near loſing Sparta itſelf, through the ſuperior generalſhip of his adverſary. The Mantineans had ſeparated again from their alliance with Thebes, and called in the Lacedæmonians to their aſſiſtance. Epaminondas being appriſed that Ageſilaus was upon his march to Mantinea, decamped from Tegea in the night, unknown to the Mantineans, and took a different road to Lacedæmon, from that Ageſilaus was upon; ſo that nothing was more likely than that he would have come upon the city in this defenceleſs ſtate, and have taken it with eaſe. But Euthynus, of Theſpiæ, as Calliſthenes relates it, or ſome Cretan, according to Xenophon, informed Ageſilaus of the deſign, who ſent a horſeman to alarm the city, and not long after entered it himſelf.

In a little time the Thebans paſſed the Eurotas, and attacked the town. Ageſilaus defended it with a vigour above his years. He ſaw that this was not the time (as it had been) for ſafe and cautious meaſures, but rather for the boldeſt and moſt deſperate efforts; inſomuch that the means in which he had never before placed any confidence, or made the leaſt uſe of, ſtaved off the preſent danger, and ſnatched the town out of the hands of Epaminondas. He erected a trophy upon the occaſion, and ſhewed the children and the women, how glorioufly the Spartans rewarded their country for

their

their education. Archidamus greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf that day, both by his courage and agility, flying through the bye-lanes, to meet the enemy where they preſſed the hardeſt, and every where repulſing them with his little band.

But Iſadus, the ſon of Phœbidas, was the moſt extraordinary and ſtriking ſpectacle, not only to his countrymen, but to the enemy. He was tall and beautiful in his perſon, and juſt growing from a boy into a man, which is the time the human flower has the greateſt charm. He was without either arms or clothes, naked and newly anointed with oil; only he had a ſpear in one hand, and a ſword in the other. In this condition he ruſhed out of his houſe, and having made his way through the combatants, he dealt his deadly blows among the enemy's ranks, ſtriking down every man he engaged with. Yet he received not one wound himſelf; whether it was that heaven preſerved him in regard to his valour, or whether he appeared to his adverſaries as ſomething more than human. It is ſaid, the *Ephori* honoured him with a chaplet for the great things he had performed, but, at the ſame time, fined him a thouſand drachmas for daring to appear without his armour.

Some days after this, there was another battle before Mantinea. Epaminondas, after having routed the firſt battalions, was very eager in the purſuit; when a Spartan, named Anticrates, turned ſhort, and gave him a wound, with a ſpear, according to Dioſcorides, or, as others ſay, with a ſword. And, indeed, the deſcendants of * Anticrates are to this day called *macheriones*, *ſwordſmen*, in Lacedæmon. This action appeared ſo great, and was ſo acceptable to the Spartans, on account of their fear of Epaminondas, that they decreed great honours and rewards to Anticrates,

* Diodorus Siculus attributes this action to Grillus, the ſon of Xenophon, who, he ſays, was killed immediately after. But Plutarch's account ſeems better grounded.

and

and an exemption from taxes to his poſterity; one of which, named Callicrates *, now enjoys that privilege.

After this battle, and the death of Epaminondas, the Greeks concluded a peace. But Ageſilaus, under pretence that the Meſſenians were not a ſtate, inſiſted that they ſhould not be comprehended in the treaty. All the reſt, however, admitted them to take the oath, as one of the ſtates; and the Lacedæmonians withdrew, intending to continue the war, in hopes of recovering Meſſenia. Ageſilaus could not, therefore, be conſidered but as violent and obſtinate in his temper, and inſatiably fond of hoſtilities, ſince he took every method to obſtruct the general peace, and to protract the war; though at the ſame time, through want of money, he was forced to borrow of his friends, and to demand unreaſonable ſubſidies of the people. This was at a time, too, when he had the faireſt opportunity to extricate himſelf from all his diſtreſſes. Beſides, after he had let ſlip the power, which never before was at ſuch a height, loſt ſo many cities, and ſeen his country deprived of the ſuperiority both at ſea and land, ſhould he have wrangled about the property and the revenues of Meſſene?

He loſt ſtill more reputation, by taking a command under Tachos, the Ægyptian chief. It was not thought ſuitable to one of the greateſt characters in Greece, a man who had filled the whole world with his renown, to hire out his perſon, to give his name and his intereſt for a pecuniary conſideration, and to act as captain of a band of mercenaries, for a Barbarian, a rebel againſt the king his maſter. Had he, now he was upwards of eighty, and his body full of wounds and ſcars, accepted again of the appointment of captain-general, to fight for the liberties of Greece, his ambition, at that time of day, would not have been entirely unexceptionable. For even honourable purſuits muſt have their

* Near five hundred years after.

times

times and ſeaſons to give them a propriety; or rather, propriety, and the avoiding of all extremes, is the characteriſtic which diſtinguiſhes honourable purſuits from the diſhonourable. But Ageſilaus was not moved by this conſideration, nor did he think any public ſervice unworthy of him; he thought it much more unbecoming to lead an inactive life at home, and to ſit down and wait till death ſhould ſtrike his blow. He therefore raiſed a body of mercenaries, and fitted out a fleet, with the money which Tachos had ſent him, and then ſet ſail; taking with him thirty Spartans for his counſellors, as formerly.

Upon his arrival in Ægypt, all the great officers of the kingdom came immediately to pay their court to him. Indeed, the name and character of Ageſilaus had raiſed great expectations in the Ægyptians in general, and they crowded to the ſhore to get a ſight of him. But when they beheld no pomp or grandeur of appearance, and ſaw only a little old man, and in as mean attire, ſeated on the graſs by the ſea-ſide, they could not help regarding the thing in a ridiculous light, and obſerving, that this was the very thing repreſented in the fable *, "The mountain had brought "forth a mouſe." They were ſtill more ſurpriſed at his want of politeneſs, when they brought him ſuch preſents as were commonly made to ſtrangers of diſtinction, and he took only the flour, the veal, and the geeſe, and refuſed the paſties, the ſweet-meats, and perfumes; and when they preſſed him to accept them, he ſaid, "They might carry them to the *helots*." Theophraſtus tells us, he was pleaſed with the *papyrus*, on account of its thin and pliant texture, which made it very proper for chaplets; and, when he left Ægypt, he aſked the king for ſome of it.

Tachos was preparing for the war; and Ageſilaus, upon joining him, was greatly diſappointed to find he had not the command of all the forces given him, but

* Athenæus makes Tachos ſay this, and Ageſilaus anſwer, "You will find me a lion by and by."

only

only that of the mercenaries. Chabrias, the Athenian, was admiral: Tachos, however, reſerved to himſelf the chief direction, both at ſea and land. This was the firſt diſagreeable circumſtance that occurred to Ageſilaus; and others ſoon followed. The vanity and inſolence of the Ægyptian gave him great pain, but he was forced to bear them. He conſented to ſail with him againſt the Phœnicians, and, contrary to his dignity and nature, ſubmitted to the Barbarian, till he could find an opportunity to ſhake off his yoke. That opportunity ſoon preſented itſelf. Nectanabis, *couſin to Tachos, who commanded part of the forces, revolted, and was proclaimed king by the Ægyptians.

In conſequence of this, Nectanabis ſent ambaſſadors to Ageſilaus, to intreat his aſſiſtance. He made the ſame application to Chabrias, and promiſed them both great rewards. Tachos was appriſed of theſe proceedings, and begged of them not to abandon him. Chabrias liſtened to his requeſt, and endeavoured alſo to appeaſe the reſentment of Ageſilaus, and keep him to the cauſe he had embarked in. Ageſilaus anſwered, "As for you, Chabrias, you came hither as a volun-"teer, and, therefore, may act as you think proper; "but I was ſent by my country, upon the application "of the Ægyptians, for a General. It would not "then be right to commence hoſtilities againſt the "people, to whom I was ſent as an aſſiſtant, except "Sparta ſhould give me ſuch orders." At the ſame time he ſent ſome of his officers home, with inſtructions to accuſe Tachos, and to defend the cauſe of Nectanabis. The two rival kings alſo applied to the Lacedæmonians; the one as an ancient friend and ally, and the other as one who had a greater regard for Sparta, and would give her more valuable proofs of his attachment.

The Lacedæmonians gave the Ægyptian deputies the hearing, and this public anſwer, "That they

* Ανεψιος ſignifies either *couſin* or *nephew*. But, according to Diodorus, Nectanabis was the ſon of Tachos.

"ſhould

" ſhould leave the buſineſs to the care of Ageſilaus." But their private inſtructions to him were, " to do " what ſhould appear moſt advantageous to Sparta." Ageſilaus had no ſooner received this order, than he withdrew with his mercenaries, and went over to Nectanabis; covering this ſtrange and ſcandalous * proceeding with the pretence of acting in the beſt manner for his country: when that ſlight veil is taken off, its right name is treachery, and baſe deſertion. It is true, the Lacedæmonians, by placing a regard to the advantage of their country, in the firſt rank of honour and virtue, left themſelves no criterion of juſtice, but the aggrandiſement of Sparta.

Tachos, thus abandoned by the mercenaries, took to flight. But, at the ſame time, there roſe up in Mendes another competitor, to diſpute the crown with Nectanabis; and that competitor advanced with a hundred thouſand men, whom he had ſoon aſſembled. Nectanabis, to encourage Ageſilaus, repreſented to him, that though the numbers of the enemy were great, they were only a mixed multitude, and many of them mechanics, who were to be deſpiſed for their utter ignorance of war. " It is not their numbers," ſaid Ageſilaus, " that I fear, but that ignorance and " inexperience, you mention, which renders them in- " capable of being practiſed upon by art or ſtratagem: " for thoſe can only be exerciſed with ſucceſs, upon " ſuch as, having ſkill enough to ſuſpect the deſigns of " their enemy, form ſchemes to countermine him, " and, in the mean time, are caught by new contri- " vances. But he who has neither expectation nor

* Xenophon has ſucceeded well enough in defending Ageſilaus with reſpect to his undertaking the expedition into Ægypt. He repreſents him pleaſed with the hopes of making Tachos ſome return for his many ſervices to the Lacedæmonians; of reſtoring, through his means, the Greek cities in Aſia to their liberty, and of revenging the ill offices done the Spartans by the king of Perſia. But it was in vain for that hiſtorian to attempt to exculpate him, with reſpect to his deſerting Tachos, which Plutarch juſtly treats as an act of treachery.

" ſuſpicion of that ſort, gives his adverſary no more " opportunity, than he who ſtands ſtill, gives to a " wreſtler."

Soon after, the adventurer of Mendes ſent perſons to ſound Ageſilaus. This alarmed Nectanabis: and when Ageſilaus adviſed him to give battle immediately, and not to protract the war with men who had ſeen no ſervice, but who, by the advantage of numbers, might draw a line of circumvallation about his trenches, and prevent him in moſt of his operations; then his fears and ſuſpicions increaſed, and put him upon the expedient of retiring into a large and well-fortified town. Ageſilaus could not well digeſt this inſtance of diſtruſt; yet he was aſhamed to change ſides again, and at laſt return without effecting any thing. He therefore followed his ſtandard, and entered the town with him.

However, when the enemy came up, and began to open their trenches, in order to encloſe him, the Ægyptian, afraid of a ſiege, was inclined to come immediately to an engagement; and the Greeks were of his opinion, becauſe there was no great quantity of proviſions in the place. But Ageſilaus oppoſed it; and the Ægyptians, on that account, looked upon him in a worſe light than before, not ſcrupling to call him a traitor to their king. Theſe cenſures he now bore with patience, becauſe he was waiting a favourable moment for putting in execution a deſign he had formed.

The deſign was this. The enemy, as we have obſerved, were drawing a deep trench round the walls, with an intent to ſhut up Nectanabis. When they had proceeded ſo far in the work, that the two ends were almoſt ready to meet, as ſoon as night came on, Ageſilaus ordered the Greeks to arm, and then went to the Ægyptian, and ſaid, " Now is the time, young " man, for you to ſave yourſelf, which I did not chuſe " to ſpeak of ſooner, leſt it ſhould be divulged and " loſt. The enemy with their own hands have worked

" out

"out your ſecurity, by labouring ſo long upon the "trench, that the part which is finiſhed will prevent "our ſuffering by their numbers, and the ſpace which "is left puts it in our power to fight them upon equal "terms. Come on then; now ſhew your courage; "ſally out along with us, with the utmoſt vigour, and "and ſave both yourſelf and your army. The enemy "will not dare to ſtand us in front, and our flanks "are ſecured by the trench." Nectanabis now admiring his capacity, put himſelf in the middle of the Greeks, and advancing to the charge, eaſily routed all that oppoſed him.

Ageſilaus having thus gained the prince's confidence, availed himſelf once more of the ſame ſtratagem, as a wreſtler ſometimes uſes the ſame ſlight twice in one day. By ſometimes pretending to fly, and ſometimes facing about, he drew the enemy's whole army into a narrow place, encloſed with two ditches that were very deep, and full of water. When he ſaw them thus entangled, he advanced to the charge, with a front equal to theirs, and ſecured by the nature of the ground againſt being ſurrounded. The conſequence was, that they made but little reſiſtance; numbers were killed, and the reſt fled, and were entirely put to the rout.

The Ægyptian, thus ſucceſsful in his affairs, and firmly eſtabliſhed in his kingdom, had a grateful ſenſe of the ſervices of Ageſilaus, and preſſed him to ſpend the winter with him. But he haſtened his return to Sparta, on account of the war ſhe had upon her hands at home; for he knew that her finances were low, though, at the ſame time, ſhe found it neceſſary to employ a body of mercenaries. Nectanabis diſmiſſed him with great marks of honour, and, beſide other preſents, furniſhed him with two hundred and thirty talents of ſilver, for the expences of the Grecian war. But, as it was winter, he met with a ſtorm which drove him upon a deſert ſhore in Africa, called the *haven of* Menelaus; and there he died, at the age of

eighty-four years; of which he had reigned forty-one in Lacedæmon. Above thirty years of that time he made the greatest figure, both as to reputation and power, being looked upon as commander in chief, and, as it were, king of all Greece, till the battle of Leuctra.

It was the custom of the Spartans to bury persons of ordinary rank in the place where they expired, when they happened to die in a foreign country, but to carry the corpses of their kings home. And as the attendants of Agesilaus had not honey to preserve the body, they embalmed it with melted wax, and so conveyed it to Lacedæmon. His son Archidamus succeeded to the crown, which descended in his family to Agis, the fifth from Agesilaus. This Agis, the third of that name, was assassinated by Leonidas, for attempting to restore the ancient discipline of Sparta.

POMPEY.

POMPEY.

THE people of Rome appear, from the firſt, to have been affected towards Pompey, much in the ſame manner as Prometheus, in Æſchylus, was towards Hercules, when after that hero had delivered him from his chains, he ſays,

The fire I hated, but the ſon I love. *

For never did the Romans entertain a ſtronger and more rancorous hatred for any general, than for Strabo the father of Pompey. While he lived, indeed, they were afraid of his abilities as a ſoldier, for he had great talents for war; but upon his death, which happened by a ſtroke of lightning, they dragged his corpſe from the bier, on the way to the funeral pile, and treated it with the greateſt indignity. On the other hand, no man ever experienced from the ſame Romans an attachment more early begun, more diſintereſted in all the ſtages of his proſperity, or more conſtant and faithful in the decline of his fortune, than Pompey.

The ſole cauſe of their averſion to the father, was his inſatiable avarice; but there were many cauſes of their affection for the ſon; his temperate way of living, his application to martial exerciſes, his eloquent and

* Of the tragedy of *Prometheus releaſed*, from which this line is taken, we have only ſome fragments remaining. Jupiter had chained Prometheus to the rocks of Caucaſus, and Hercules, the ſon of Jupiter, releaſed him.

persuasive address, his strict honour and fidelity, and the easiness of access to him upon all occasions; for no man was ever * less importunate in asking favours, or more gracious in conferring them. When he gave, it was without arrogance, and when he received, it was with dignity.

In his youth he had a very engaging countenance, which spoke for him before he opened his lips. Yet that grace of aspect was not unattended with dignity, and amidst his youthful bloom there was a venerable and princely air. His hair naturally curled a little before; which, together with the shining moisture † and quick turn of his eye, produced a stronger likeness of Alexander the Great, than that which appeared in the statues of that prince. So that some seriously gave him the name of Alexander, and he did not refuse it; others applied it to him by way of ridicule. And ‡ Lucius Philippus, a man of consular dignity, as he was one day pleading for him, said, "It was no wonder if Philip was a Lover of Alexander."

We are told, that Flora, the courtezan, took a pleasure, in her old-age, in speaking of the commerce she had with Pompey; and she used to say, she could never quit his embraces without giving him a bite. She added, that Germinius, one of Pompey's acquaintance, had a passion for her, and gave her much trouble with his sollicitations. At last, she told him, she

* Ὡς μηδενος αλυπηροτερον δεηθηναι, μηδε ἡδιον ὑπουργησαι δεομενῳ.

The Latin translator has taken δεηθηναι in a passive sense—*cum quidem nemo esset, qui vel æquiori animo peti abs se aliquid pateretur.* But that is inconsistent with the contrast which immediately follows.

One of the manuscripts has it, Ὡς μηδενος προτερον—and Dacier appears to have followed it—*car il n'y avoit point d'homme plus réservé que lui à demander des services.*

† Ὑγροτης signifies not only *moisture*, but *flexibility*. Lucian has ὑγροτης μελων. And των περι τα ομματα ῥυθμων ὑγροτης seems more applicable to the latter sense. However, we have given both.

‡ Lucius Martius Philippus, one of the greatest orators of his time. He was father-in-law to Augustus, having married his mother Attia. Horace speaks of him, Lib. i. Ep. 7.

could

could not conſent on account of Pompey. Upon which, he applied to Pompey for his permiſſion, and he gave it him, but never approached her afterwards, though he ſeemed to retain a regard for her. She bore the loſs of him, not with the ſlight uneaſineſs of a proſtitute, but was long ſick through ſorrow and regret. It is ſaid, that Flora was ſo celebrated for her beauty and fine bloom, that when Cæcilius Metellus adorned the temple of Caſtor and Pollux with ſtatues and paintings, he gave her picture a place among them.

Demetrius, one of Pompey's freed-men, who had great intereſt with him, and who died worth four thouſand talents, had a wife of irreſiſtible beauty. Pompey, on that account, behaved to her with leſs politeneſs than was natural to him, that he might not appear to be caught by her charms. But though he took his meaſures with ſo much care and caution in this reſpect, he could not eſcape the cenſures of his enemies, who accuſed him of a commerce with married women, and ſaid he often neglected, or gave up, points eſſential to the public, to gratify his miſtreſſes.

As to the ſimplicity of his diet, there is a remarkable ſaying of his upon record. In a great illneſs, when his appetite was almoſt gone, the phyſician ordered him a thruſh. His ſervants, upon enquiry, found there was not one to be had for money; for the ſeaſon was paſt. They were informed, however, that Lucullus had them all the year in his menageries. This being reported to Pompey, he ſaid, "Does Pompey's life depend upon the luxury of Lucullus?" Then, without any regard to the phyſician, he eat ſomething that was eaſy to be had. But this happened at a later period of his life.

While he was very young, and ſerved under his father, who was carrying on the war againſt *Cinna,

* In the year of Rome 666. And as Pompey was born the ſame year with Cicero, viz. in the year of Rome 647, he muſt, in this war with Cinna, have been nineteen years old.

one Lucius Terentius was his comrade, and they ſlept in the ſame tent. This Terentius, gained by Cinna's money, undertook to aſſaſſinate Pompey, while others ſet fire to the general's tent. Pompey got information of this when he was at ſupper, and it did not put him in the leaſt confuſion. He drank more freely, and careſſed Terentius more than uſual; but when they were to have gone to reſt, he ſtole out of the tent, and went and planted a guard about his father. This done, he waited quietly for the event. Terentius, as ſoon as he thought Pompey was aſleep, drew his ſword, and ſtabbed the coverlets of the bed in many places, imagining that he was in it.

Immediately after this, there was a great mutiny in the camp. The ſoldiers, who hated their General, were determined to go over to the enemy, and began to ſtrike their tents and take up their arms. The general dreading the tumult, did not dare to make his appearance. But Pompey was every where; he begged of them with tears to ſtay, and at laſt threw himſelf upon his face in the gate-way. There he lay weeping, and bidding them, if they would go out, tread upon him. Upon this, they were aſhamed to proceed, and all, except eight hundred, returned and reconciled themſelves to their general.

After the death of Strabo, a charge was laid that he had converted the public money to his own uſe, and Pompey, as his heir, was obliged to anſwer it. Upon enquiry, he found that Alexander, one of the enfranchiſed ſlaves, had ſecreted moſt of the money; and he took care to inform the magiſtrates of the particulars. He was accuſed, however, himſelf, of having taken ſome hunting-nets and books out of the ſpoils of Aſculum; and, it is true, his father gave them to him when he took the place; but he loſt them at the return of Cinna to Rome, when that general's creatures broke into, and pillaged his houſe. In this affair he maintained the combat well with his adverſary at the bar, and ſhewed an acuteneſs and firmneſs above his years;

years; which gained him ſo much applauſe, that Antiſtius, the prætor, who had the hearing of the cauſe, conceived an affection for him, and offered him his daughter in marriage. The propoſal accordingly was made to his friends. Pompey accepted it; and the treaty was concluded privately. The people, however, had ſome notion of the thing from the pains which Antiſtius took for Pompey; and at laſt, when he pronounced the ſentence, in the name of all the judges, by which Pompey was acquitted, the multitude, as it were, upon a ſignal given, broke out in the old marriage acclamation of *Talaſio*.

The origin of the term is ſaid to have been this. When the principal Romans ſeized the daughters of the Sabines, who were come to ſee the games they were celebrating to entrap them, ſome herdſmen and ſhepherds laid hold of a virgin remarkably tall and handſome; and, leſt ſhe ſhould be taken from them, as they carried her off, they cried all the way they went, *Talaſio*. Talaſius was a young man, univerſally beloved and admired; therefore all who heard them, delighted with the intention, joined in the cry, and accompanied them with plaudits. They tell us, the marriage of Talaſius proved fortunate, and thence all bridegrooms, by way of mirth, were welcomed with that acclamation. This is the moſt probable account I can find of the term *.

Pompey in a little time married Antiſtia; and afterwards repaired to Cinna's camp. But finding ſome unjuſt charges laid againſt him there, he took the firſt private opportunity to withdraw. As he was no where to be found, a rumour prevailed in the army, that Cinna had put the young man to death: Upon which, numbers who hated Cinna, and could no longer bear with his cruelties, attacked his quarters. He fled for his life; and being overtaken by one of the inferior officers, who purſued him with a drawn ſword, he fell upon his knees, and offered him his ring,

* See more of this in the life of Romulus.

which

which was of no ſmall value. The officer anſwered, with great ferocity, "I am not come to ſign a con-"tract, but to puniſh an impious and lawleſs tyrant," and then killed him upon the ſpot.

Such was the end of Cinna; after whom Carbo, a tyrant ſtill more ſavage, took the reins of government. It was not long, however, before Sylla returned to Italy, to the great ſatisfaction of moſt of the Romans, who, in their preſent unhappy circumſtances, thought the change of their maſter no ſmall advantage. To ſuch a deſperate ſtate had their calamities brought them, that no longer hoping for liberty, they ſought only the moſt tolerable ſervitude.

At that time Pompey was in the Picene, whither he had retired, partly becauſe he had lands there, but more on account of an old attachment which the cities in that diſtrict had to his family. As he obſerved that the beſt and moſt conſiderable of the citizens left their houſes, and took refuge in Sylla's camp as in a port, he reſolved to do the ſame. At the ſame time he thought it did not become him to go like a fugitive who wanted protection, but rather in a reſpectable manner at the head of an army. He therefore tried what levies he could make in the *Picene, and the people readily repaired to his ſtandard; rejecting the applications of Carbo. On this occaſion, one Vindius happening to ſay, "Pompey is juſt come from under "the hands of the pedagogue, and all on a ſudden is "become a demagogue among you," they were ſo provoked, that they fell upon him and cut him in pieces.

Thus Pompey, at the age of twenty-three, without a commiſſion from any ſuperior authority, erected himſelf into a general; and having placed his tribunal in the moſt public part of the great city of Auximum, by a formal decree commanded the Ventidii, two brothers who oppoſed him in behalf of Carbo, to depart the city: He enliſted ſoldiers; he appointed tribunes,

* Now the March of Ancona.

cen-

centurions, and other officers, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom. He did the ſame in all the neighbouring cities; for the partiſans of Carbo retired and gave place to him, and the reſt were glad to range themſelves under his banners. So that in a little time he raiſed three complete legions, and furniſhed himſelf with proviſions, beaſts of burthen, carriages, in ſhort, with the whole apparatus of war.

In this form he moved towards Sylla, not by haſty marches, nor as if he wanted to conceal himſelf; for he ſtopped by the way to harraſs the enemy, and attempted to draw off from Carbo, all the parts of Italy through which he paſſed. At laſt, three generals of the oppoſite party, Carinna, Cœlius, and Brutus, came againſt him all at once, not in front, or in one body, but they hemmed him in with their three armies, in hopes to demoliſh him entirely.

Pompey, far from being terrified, aſſembled all his forces, and charged the army of Brutus at the head of his cavalry. The Gauliſh horſe on the enemy's ſide ſuſtained the firſt ſhock; but Pompey attacked the foremoſt of them, who was a man of prodigious ſtrength, and brought him down with a puſh of his ſpear. The reſt immediately fled, and threw the infantry into ſuch diſorder, that the whole was ſoon put to flight. This produced ſo great a quarrel among the three generals, that they parted, and took ſeparate routs. In conſequence of which, the cities, concluding that the fears of the enemy had made them part, adopted the intereſts of Pompey.

Not long after, Scipio the conſul advanced to engage him. But before the infantry were near enough to diſcharge their lances, Scipio's ſoldiers ſaluted thoſe of Pompey, and came over to them. Scipio, therefore, was forced to fly. At laſt Carbo ſent a large body of cavalry againſt Pompey near the river Arſis. He gave them ſo warm a reception, that they were ſoon broken, and in the purſuit drove them upon impracticable ground; ſo that finding it impoſſible to eſcape,

eſcape, they ſurrendered themſelves with their arms and horſes.

Sylla had not yet been informed of theſe tranſactions; but upon the firſt news of Pompey's being engaged with ſo many adverſaries, and ſuch reſpectable Generals, he dreaded the conſequence, and marched with all expedition to his aſſiſtance. Pompey having intelligence of his approach, ordered his officers to ſee that the troops were armed and drawn up in ſuch a manner, as to make the handſomeſt and moſt gallant appearance before the commander in chief. For he expected great honours from him, and he obtained greater. Sylla no ſooner ſaw Pompey advancing to meet him, with an army in excellent condition, both as to the age and ſize of the men, and the ſpirits which ſucceſs had given them, than he alighted; and upon being ſaluted of courſe by Pompey, as *imperator*, he returned his ſalutation with the ſame title: though no one imagined that he would have honoured a young man, not yet admitted into the ſenate, with a title for which he was contending with the Scipios and the Marii. The reſt of his behaviour was as reſpectful as that in the firſt interview. He uſed to riſe up and uncover his head, whenever Pompey came to him; which he was rarely obſerved to do for any other, though he had a number of perſons of diſtinction about him.

Pompey was not elated with theſe honours. On the contrary, when Sylla wanted to ſend him into Gaul, where Metellus had done nothing worthy of the forces under his direction, he ſaid, "It was not right to take "the command from a man who was his ſuperior both "in age and character; but if Metellus ſhould deſire "his aſſiſtance in the conduct of the war, it was at "his ſervice." Metellus accepted the propoſal, and wrote to him to come; whereupon he entered Gaul, and not only ſignalized his own valour and capacity, but excited once more the ſpirit of adventure in Metellus, which was almoſt extinguiſhed with age: juſt as braſs in a ſtate of fuſion is ſaid to melt a cold plate, ſooner

ſooner than ſire itſelf. But as it is not uſual, when a champion has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the liſts, and gained the prize in all the games, to record or to take any notice of the performances of his younger years; ſo the actions of Pompey, in this period, though extraordinary in themſelves, yet being eclipſed by the number and importance of his later expeditions, I ſhall forbear to mention, leſt by dwelling upon his firſt eſſays, I ſhould not leave myſelf room for thoſe greater and more critical events which mark his character and turn of mind.

After Sylla had made himſelf maſter of Italy, and was declared dictator, he rewarded his principal officers with riches and honours; making them liberal grants of whatever they applied for. But he was moſt ſtruck with the excellent qualities of Pompey, and was perſuaded that he owed more to his ſervices than thoſe of any other man. He therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to take him into his alliance; and, as his wife Metella was perfectly of his opinion, they perſuaded Pompey to divorce Antiſtia, and to marry Æmilia, the daughter-in-law of Sylla, whom Metella had by Scaurus, and who was at that time pregnant by another marriage.

Nothing could be more tyrannical than this new contract. It was ſuitable, indeed, to the times of Sylla, but it ill became the character of Pompey, to take Æmilia, pregnant as ſhe was, from another, and bring her into his houſe, and at the ſame time to repudiate Antiſtia, diſtreſſed as ſhe muſt be for a father whom ſhe had lately loſt on account of this cruel huſband. For Antiſtius was killed in the ſenate-houſe, becauſe it was thought his regard for Pompey had attached him to the cauſe of Sylla. And her mother, upon this divorce, laid violent hands upon herſelf. This was an additional ſcene of miſery in that tragical marriage; as was alſo the fate of Æmilia in Pompey's houſe, who died there in child-bed.

Soon

Soon after this, Sylla received an account, that Perpenna had made himſelf maſter of Sicily, where he afforded an aſylum to the party which oppoſed the reigning powers. Carbo was hovering with a fleet about that iſland; Domitius had entered Africa; and many other perſons of great diſtinction, who had eſcaped the fury of the proſcriptions by flight, had taken refuge there. Pompey was ſent againſt them with a conſiderable armament. He ſoon forced Perpenna to quit the iſland; and having recovered the cities, which had been much harraſſed by the armies that were there before his, he behaved to them all with great humanity, except the Mamertines, who were ſeated in Meſſina. That people had refuſed to appear before his tribunal, and to acknowledge his juriſdiction, alledging, that they ſtood excuſed by an ancient privilege granted them by the Romans. He anſwered, "Will you "never have done with citing laws and privileges to "men who wear ſwords?" His behaviour, too, to Carbo, in his misfortunes, appeared inhuman. For, if it was neceſſary, as perhaps it was, to put him to death, he ſhould have done it immediately, and then it would have been the work of him that gave orders for it. But, inſtead of that, he cauſed a Roman, who had been honoured with three conſulſhips, to be brought in chains before his tribunal, where he ſat in judgment on him, to the regret of all the ſpectators, and ordered him to be led off to execution. When they were carrying him off, and he beheld the ſword drawn, he was ſo much diſordered at it, that he was forced to beg a moment's reſpite, and a private place for the neceſſities of nature.

*Caius Oppius, the friend of Cæſar, writes, that Pompey likewiſe treated Quintus Valerius with inhumanity. For, knowing him to be a man of letters,

* The ſame who wrote an account of the Spaniſh war. He was alſo a biographer; but his works of that kind are loſt. He was mean enough to write a treatiſe to ſhow, that Cæſario was not the ſon of Cæſar.

and

and that few were to be compared to him in point of knowledge, he took him (he ſays) aſide, and after he had walked with him till he had ſatisfied himſelf upon ſeveral points of learning, commanded his ſervants to take him to the block. But we muſt be very cautious how we give credit to Oppius, when he ſpeaks of the friends and enemies of Cæſar. Pompey, indeed, was under a neceſſity of puniſhing the principal enemies of Sylla, particularly when they were taken publicly. But others he ſuffered to eſcape, and even aſſiſted ſome in getting off.

He had reſolved to chaſtiſe the Himereans for attempting to ſupport his enemies, when the orator Sthenis told him, "He would act unjuſtly, if he paſſed by "the perſon that was guilty, and puniſhed the inno-"cent." Pompey aſked him, "Who was the guilty "perſon," and he anſwered, "I am the man. I per-"ſuaded my friends, and compelled my enemies, to "take the meaſures they did." Pompey, delighted with his frank confeſſion and noble ſpirit, forgave him firſt, and afterwards all the people of Himeria. Being informed that his ſoldiers committed great diſorders in their excurſions, he ſealed up their ſwords, and if any of them broke the ſeal, he took care to have them puniſhed.

While he was making theſe and other regulations in Sicily, he received a decree of the ſenate, and letters from Sylla, in which he was commanded to croſs over to Africa, and to carry on the war with the utmoſt vigour againſt Domitius, who had aſſembled a much more powerful army than that which Marius carried not long before from Africa to Italy, when he made himſelf maſter of Rome, and of a fugitive became a tyrant. Pompey ſoon finiſhed his preparations for this expedition; and leaving the command in Sicily to Memmius, his ſiſter's huſband, he ſet ſail with a hundred and twenty armed veſſels, and eight hundred ſtore-ſhips, laden with proviſions, arms, money, and machines of war. Part of his fleet landed at Utica, and

part

part at Carthage; immediately after which ſeven thouſand of the enemy came over to him; and he had brought with him ſix legions complete.

On his arrival he met with a whimſical adventure. Some of his ſoldiers, it ſeems, found a treaſure, and ſhared conſiderable ſums. The thing getting air, the reſt of the troops concluded, that the place was full of money, which the Carthaginians had hid there in ſome time of public diſtreſs. Pompey, therefore, could make no uſe of them for ſeveral days: They were ſearching for treaſures; and he had nothing to do but walk about and amuſe himſelf with the ſight of ſo many thouſands digging and turning up the ground. At laſt, they gave up the point, and bade him lead them wherever he pleaſed, for they were ſufficiently puniſhed for their folly.

Domitius advanced to meet him, and put his troops in order of battle. There happened to be a channel between them, craggy and difficult to paſs. In the morning it began, moreover, to rain, and the wind blew violently; inſomuch that Domitius, not imagining there would be any action that day, ordered his army to retire. But Pompey looked upon this as his opportunity, and he paſſed the defile with the utmoſt expedition. The enemy ſtood upon their defence, but it was in a diſorderly and tumultuous manner, and the reſiſtance they made was neither general nor uniform. Beſides, the wind and rain beat in their faces. The ſtorm incommoded the Romans too, for they could not well diſtinguiſh each other. Nay, Pompey himſelf was in danger of being killed by a ſoldier who aſked him the word, and received not a ſpeedy anſwer. At length, however, he routed the enemy with great ſlaughter; not above three thouſand of them eſcaping out of twenty thouſand. The ſoldiers then ſaluted Pompey *imperator*, but he ſaid he would not accept that title while the enemy's camp ſtood untouched: therefore, if they choſe to confer ſuch an honour upon him,

him, they muſt firſt make themſelves maſters of the entrenchments.

At that inſtant they advanced with great fury againſt them. Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of ſuch an accident as he had juſt eſcaped. The camp was taken, and Domitius ſlain; in conſequence of which, moſt of the cities immediately ſubmitted, and the reſt were taken by aſſault. He took Jarbas, one of the confederates of Domitius, priſoner, and beſtowed his crown on Hiempſal. Advancing with the ſame tide of fortune, and while his army had all the ſpirits inſpired by ſucceſs, he entered Numidia, in which he continued his march for ſeveral days, and ſubdued all that came in his way. Thus he revived the terror of the Roman name, which the Barbarians had begun to diſregard. Nay, he choſe not to leave the ſavage beaſts in the deſerts, without giving them a ſpecimen of the Roman valour and ſucceſs. Accordingly he ſpent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. The whole time he paſſed in Africa, they tell us, was not above forty days; in which he defeated the enemy, reduced the whole country, and brought the affairs of its kings under proper regulations, though he was only in his twenty-fourth year.

Upon his return to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, in which he was ordered to ſend home the reſt of his army, and to wait there with one legion only for a ſucceſſor. This gave him a great deal of uneaſineſs, which he kept to himſelf, but the army expreſſed their indignation aloud; inſomuch that when he intreated them to return to Italy, they launched out into abuſive terms againſt Sylla, and declared they would never abandon Pompey, or ſuffer him to truſt a tyrant. At firſt he endeavoured to pacify them with mild repreſentations; and when he found thoſe had no effect, he deſcended from the tribunal, and retired to his tent in tears. However, they went and took him thence, and placed him again upon the tribunal, where they ſpent great part of the day; they inſiſting that he

ſhould ſtay and keep the command, and he in perſuading them to obey Sylla's orders, and to form no new faction. At laſt, ſeeing no end of their clamours and importunity, he aſſured them, with an oath, "That he would kill himſelf, if they attempted to "force him." And even this hardly brought them to deſiſt.

The firſt news that Sylla heard was, that Pompey had revolted; upon which, he ſaid to his friends, "Then it is my fate to have to contend with boys in "my old-age." This he ſaid becauſe Marius, who was very young, had brought him into ſo much trouble and danger. But when he received true information of the affair, and obſerved that all the people flocked out to receive him, and to conduct him home with marks of great regard, he reſolved to exceed them in his regards, if poſſible. He, therefore, haſtened to meet him, and embracing him in the moſt affectionate manner, ſaluted him aloud by the ſirname of *Magnus*, or the *Great*: At the ſame time he ordered all about him to give him the ſame appellation. Others ſay, it was given him by the whole army in Africa, but did not generally obtain till it was authorized by Sylla. It is certain, he was the laſt to take it himſelf, and he did not make uſe of it till a long time after, when he was ſent into Spain with the dignity of proconſul againſt Sertorius. Then he began to write himſelf in his letters and in all his edicts *Pompey the Great*; for the world was accuſtomed to the name, and it was no longer invidious. In this reſpect we may juſtly admire the wiſdom of the ancient Romans, who beſtowed on their great men ſuch honourable names and titles, not only for military atchievements, but for the great qualities and arts which adorn civil life. Thus the people gave the ſurname of *Maximus* to * Valerius, for reconciling them to the ſenate after a violent diſſen-

* This was Marcus Valerius, the brother of Valerius Publicola, who was dictator.

ſion,

ſion, and to * Fabius Rullus for expelling ſome perſons deſcended of enfranchiſed ſlaves, who had been admitted into the Senate on account of their opulent fortunes.

When Pompey arrived at Rome, he demanded a triumph, in which he was oppoſed by Sylla. The latter alledged, "That the laws did not allow that "honour to any perſon who was not either conſul or "prætor †. Hence it was, that the firſt Scipio, "when he returned victorious from greater wars and "conflicts with the Carthaginians in Spain, did not "demand a triumph; for he was neither conſul nor "prætor." He added, "That if Pompey, who was "yet little better than a beardleſs youth, and who was "not of age to be admitted into the ſenate, ſhould "enter the city in triumph, it would bring an *odium* "both upon the dictator's power, and thoſe honours "of his friend." Theſe arguments Sylla inſiſted on, to ſhew him, he would not allow of his triumph, and that, in caſe he perſiſted, he would chaſtiſe his obſtinacy.

Pompey, not in the leaſt intimidated, bade him conſider, "That more worſhiped the riſing than the "ſetting ſun;" intimating that his power was increaſing, and Sylla's upon the decline. Sylla did not well hear what he ſaid, but perceiving by the looks and geſtures of the company that they were ſtruck with the expreſſion, he aſked what it was. When he was told it, he admired the ſpirit of Pompey, and cried, "Let "him triumph! let him triumph!"

* It was not his expelling the deſcendants of enfranchiſed ſlaves the ſenate, nor yet his glorious victories, which procured Fabius the ſurname of Maximus; but his reducing the populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were diſperſed among all the tribes, and by that means had too much influence in elections and other public affairs. Theſe were called *tribus urbanæ*. Liv. ix. 46.

† Livy (*Lib.* xxxi.) tells us, the ſenate refuſed L. Cornelius Lentulus a triumph, for the ſame reaſon, though they thought his atchievements worthy of that honour.

As Pompey perceived a ſtrong ſpirit of envy and jealouſy on this occaſion, it is ſaid, that to mortify thoſe who gave into it the more, he reſolved to have his chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought a number from Africa, which he had taken from the kings of that country. But finding the gate too narrow, he gave up that deſign, and contented himſelf with horſes.

His ſoldiers, not having obtained all they expected, were inclined to diſturb the proceſſion, but he took no pains to ſatisfy them: He ſaid, "He had rather give "up his triumph, than ſubmit to flatter them." Whereupon, Servilius, one of the moſt conſiderable men in Rome, and one who had been moſt vigorous in oppoſing the triumph, declared, "He now found Pom-"pey really the *Great*, and worthy of a triumph."

There is no doubt that he might then have been eaſily admitted a ſenator, if he had deſired it; but his ambition was to purſue honour in a more uncommon track. It would have been nothing ſtrange, if Pompey had been a ſenator before the age fixed for it; but it was a very extraordinary inſtance of honour, to lead up a triumph before he was a ſenator. And it contributed not a little to gain him the affections of the multitude; the people were delighted to ſee him, after his triumph, claſs with the equeſtrian order.

Sylla was not without uneaſineſs at finding him advance ſo faſt in reputation and power; yet he could not think of preventing it, till with a high hand, and entirely againſt his will, Pompey raiſed * Lepidus to the conſulſhip, by aſſiſting him with all his intereſt in the election. Then Sylla ſeeing him conducted home by the people, through the *forum*, thus addreſſed him: "I ſee, young man, you are proud of your victory. "And undoubtedly it was a great and extraordinary "thing, by your management of the people, to ob-"tain for Lepidus, the worſt man in Rome, the re-

* Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who by Pompey's intereſt was declared conſul with Q. Lutatius Catulus, in the year of Rome 675.

"turn

"turn before Catulus, one of the worthieſt and the beſt. "But awake, I charge you, and be upon your guard. "For you have now made your adverſary ſtronger "than yourſelf."

The diſpleaſure Sylla entertained in his heart againſt Pompey, appeared moſt plainly by his will. He left conſiderable legacies to his friends, and appointed them guardians to his ſon, but he never once mentioned Pompey. The latter, notwithſtanding, bore this with great temper and moderation; and when Lepidus and others oppoſed his being buried in the *Campus Martius*, and his having the honours of a public funeral, he interpoſed, and by his preſence not only ſecured, but did honour to the proceſſion.

Sylla's predictions were verified ſoon after his death. Lepidus wanted to uſurp the authority of a dictator; and his proceedings were not indirect, or veiled with ſpecious pretences. He immediately took up arms, and aſſembled the diſaffected remains of the factions which Sylla could not entirely ſuppreſs. As for his collegue Catulus, the uncorrupted part of the ſenate and people were attached to him, and, in point of prudence and juſtice, there was not a man in Rome who had a greater character; but he was more able to direct the civil government, than the operations of war. This criſis, therefore, called for Pompey, and he did not deliberate which ſide he ſhould take. He joined the honeſt party, and was declared general againſt Lepidus, who by this time had reduced great part of Italy, and was maſter of Ciſalpine Gaul, where Brutus acted for him with a conſiderable force.

When Pompey took the field, he eaſily made his way in other parts, but he lay a long time before Mutina, which was defended by Brutus. Mean while Lepidus advanced by haſty marches to Rome, and ſitting down before it, demanded a ſecond conſulſhip. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed at his numbers; but their fears were diſſipated by a letter from Pompey, in which he aſſured them, he had terminated the

war without ſtriking a blow. For Brutus, whether he betrayed his army, or they betrayed him, ſurrendered himſelf to Pompey; and having a party of horſe given him as an eſcort, retired to a little town upon the Po. Pompey, however, ſent Geminius the next day to diſpatch him; which brought no ſmall ſtain upon his character. Immediately after Brutus came over to him, he had informed the ſenate by letter, it was a meaſure that General had voluntarily adopted; and yet on the morrow he put him to death, and wrote other letters, containing heavy charges againſt him. This was the father of that Brutus, who, together with Caſſius, ſlew Cæſar. But the ſon did not reſemble the father, either in war or in his death, as appears from the life we have given of him. Lepidus, being ſoon driven out of Italy, fled into Sardinia, where he died of grief, not in conſequence of the ruin of his affairs, but of meeting with a billet, (as we are told,) by which he diſcovered that his wife had diſhonoured his bed.

At that time, Sertorius, an officer very different from Lepidus, was in poſſeſſion of Spain, and not a little formidable to Rome itſelf; all the remains of the civil wars being collected in him, juſt as in a dangerous diſeaſe all the vicious humours flow to a diſtempered part. He had already defeated ſeveral generals of leſs diſtinction, and he was then engaged with Metellus Pius, a man of great character in general, and particularly in war; but age ſeemed to have abated that vigour, which is neceſſary for ſeizing and making the beſt advantage of critical occaſions. On the other hand, nothing could exceed the ardour and expedition with which Sertorius ſnatched thoſe opportunities from him. He came on in the moſt daring manner, and more like a captain of banditti, than a commander of regular forces; annoying with ambuſcades, and other unforeſeen alarms, a champion who proceeded by the common rules, and whoſe ſkill lay in the management of heavy armed forces.

At

At this juncture, Pompey having an army without employment, endeavoured to prevail with the ſenate to ſend him to the aſſiſtance of Metellus. Mean time, Catulus ordered him to diſband his forces; but he found various pretences for remaining in arms in the neighbourhood of Rome; till at laſt, upon the motion of Lucius Philippus, he obtained the command he wanted. On this occaſion, we are told, one of the ſenators, ſomewhat ſurprized at the motion, aſked him who made it, whether his meaning was to ſend out Pompey [*pro conſule*] as the repreſentative of a conſul? "No," anſwered he, "but [*pro conſulibus*] as the re-"preſentative of both conſuls;" intimating by this the incapacity of the conſuls of that year.

When Pompey arrived in Spain, new hopes were excited, as is uſual upon the appearance of a new General of reputation; and ſuch of the Spaniſh nations as were not very firmly attached to Sertorius, began to change their opinions, and to go over to the Romans. Sertorius then expreſſed himſelf in a very inſolent and contemptuous manner with reſpect to Pompey: He ſaid, "He ſhould want no other weapons than a rod "and ferula to chaſtiſe the boy with, were it not that "he feared the old woman;" meaning Metellus. But in fact it was Pompey he was afraid of, and on his account he carried on his operations with much greater caution. For Metellus gave into a courſe of luxury and pleaſure, which no one could have expected, and changed the ſimplicity of a ſoldier's life for a life of pomp and parade. Hence Pompey gained additional honour and intereſt; for he cultivated plainneſs and frugality more than ever; though he had not, in that reſpect, much to correct in himſelf, being naturally ſober and regular in his deſires.

The war appeared in many forms; but nothing touched Pompey ſo nearly as the loſs of Lauron, which Sertorius took before his eyes. Pompey thought he had blocked up the enemy, and ſpoke of it in high terms, when ſuddenly he found himſelf ſurrounded,

and being afraid to move, had the mortification to ſee the city laid in aſhes in his preſence. However, in an engagement near Valencia, he defeated Herennius and Perpenna, officers of conſiderable rank, who had taken part with Sertorius, and acted as his Lieutenants, and killed above ten thouſand of their men.

Elated with this advantage, he haſtened to attack Sertorius, that Metellus might have no ſhare in the victory. He found him near the river Sacron, and they engaged near the cloſe of day. Both were afraid Metellus ſhould come up; Pompey wanting to fight alone, and Sertorius to have but one general to fight with. The iſſue of the battle was doubtful; one wing in each army being victorious. But of the two Generals Sertorius gained the greateſt honour, for he routed the battalions that oppoſed him. As for Pompey, he was attacked on horſeback by one of the enemy's infantry, a man of uncommon ſize. While they were cloſe engaged with their ſwords, the ſtrokes happened to light on each other's hand, but with different ſucceſs; Pompey received only a ſlight wound, and he lopt off the other's hand. Numbers then fell upon Pompey, for his troops in that quarter were already broken; but he eſcaped beyond all expectation, by quitting his horſe, with gold trappings and other valuable furniture, to the barbarians, who quarrelled and came to blows about dividing the ſpoil.

Next morning at break of day, both drew up again, to give the finiſhing ſtroke to the victory, to which both laid claim. But, upon Metellus coming up, Sertorius retired, and his army diſperſed. Nothing was more common than for his forces to diſperſe in that manner, and afterwards to knit again; ſo that Sertorius was often ſeen wandering alone, and as often advancing again at the head of a hundred and fifty thouſand men, like a torrent ſwelled with ſudden rains.

After the battle, Pompey went to wait on Metellus; and, upon approaching him, he ordered his *Lictors* to lower the *faſces*, by way of compliment to Metellus

as

as his ſuperior. But Metellus would not ſuffer it; and, indeed, in all reſpects he behaved to Pompey with great politeneſs, taking nothing upon him on account of his conſular dignity, or his being the older man, except to give the word, when they encamped together. And very often they had ſeparate camps; for the enemy, by his artful and various meaſures, by making his appearance at different places almoſt at the ſame inſtant, and by drawing them from one action to another, obliged them to divide. He cut off their proviſions, he laid waſte the country, he made himſelf maſter of the ſea; the conſequence of which was, that they were both forced to quit their own province, and to go into thoſe of others for ſupplies.

Pompey, having exhauſted moſt of his own fortune in ſupport of the war, applied to the ſenate for money to pay the troops, declaring he would return with his army to Italy, if they did not ſend it him. Lucullus, who was then conſul, though he was upon ill terms with Pompey, took care to furniſh him with the money as ſoon as poſſible; becauſe he wanted to be employed himſelf in the Mithridatic war, and he was afraid to give Pompey a pretext to leave Sertorius, and to ſollicit the command againſt Mithridates, which was a more honourable, and yet appeared a leſs difficult commiſſion.

* Meantime Sertorius was aſſaſſinated by his own officers; and Perpenna, who was at the head of the conſpirators, undertook to ſupply his place. He had, indeed, the ſame troops, the ſame magazines and ſupplies, but he had not the ſame underſtanding to make a proper uſe of them. Pompey immediately took the field, and having intelligence that Perpenna was greatly embarraſſed as to the meaſures he ſhould take, he threw out ten cohorts as a bait for him, with orders to ſpread themſelves over the plain. When he found it

* It was three years after the conſulate of Lucullus, that Sertorius was aſſaſſinated.

took,

took, and that Perpenna was buſied in the purſuit of that handful of men, he ſuddenly made his appearance with the main body, attacked the enemy, and routed him entirely. Moſt of the officers fell in the battle; Perpenna himſelf was taken priſoner, and brought to Pompey, who commanded him to be put to death. Nevertheleſs, Pompey is not to be accuſed of ingratitude, nor are we to ſuppoſe him, (as ſome will have it) forgetful of the ſervices he had received from that officer in Sicily. On the contrary, he acted with a wiſdom and dignity of mind that proved very ſalutary to the public. Perpenna having got the papers of Sertorius into his hands, ſhewed letters by which ſome of the moſt powerful men in Rome, who were deſirous to raiſe new commotions, and overturn the eſtabliſhment, had invited Sertorius into Italy. But Pompey, fearing thoſe letters might excite greater wars than that he was then finiſhing, put Perpenna to death, and burnt the papers without reading them. He ſtayed juſt long enough in Spain to compoſe the troubles, and to remove ſuch uneaſineſſes as might tend to break the peace; after which he marched back to Italy, where he arrived, as fortune would have it, when the *ſervile* war was at the height.

Craſſus, who had the command in that war, upon the arrival of Pompey, who, he feared, might ſnatch the laurels out of his hand, reſolved to come to a battle, however hazardous it might prove. He ſucceeded, and killed twelve thouſand three hundred of the enemy. Yet fortune, in ſome ſort, interweaved this with the honours of Pompey; for he killed five thouſand of the ſlaves, whom he fell in with as they fled after the battle. Immediately upon this, to be beforehand with Craſſus, he wrote to the ſenate, "That Craſſus had beaten the Gladiators in a pitched "battle, but that it was *he* who had cut up the war by "the roots." The Romans took a pleaſure in ſpeaking of this one among another, on account of their regard for Pompey; which was ſuch, that no part of the

ſucceſs

ſucceſs in Spain, againſt Sertorius, was aſcribed by a man of them, either in jeſt or earneſt, to any but Pompey.

Yet theſe honours and this high veneration for the man, were mixed with ſome fears and jealouſies that he would not diſband his army, but, treading in the ſteps of Sylla, raiſe himſelf by the ſword to ſovereign power, and maintain himſelf in it, as Sylla had done *. Hence, the number of thoſe that went out of fear to meet him and congratulate him on his return, was equal to that of thoſe who went out of love. But when he had removed this ſuſpicion, by declaring that he would diſmiſs his troops immediately after the triumph, there remained only one more ſubject for envious tongues; which was, that he paid more attention to the commons than to the ſenate; and whereas Sylla had deſtroyed the authority of the tribunes, he was determined to re-eſtabliſh it, in order to gain the affections of the people. This was true: For there never was any thing they had ſo much ſet their hearts upon, or longed for ſo extravagantly, as to ſee the tribunitial power, put in their hands again. So that Pompey looked upon it as a peculiar happineſs, that he had an opportunity to bring that affair about; knowing that if any one ſhould be beforehand with him in this deſign, he ſhould never find any means of making ſo agreeable a return for the kind regards of the people.

* Cicero, in his epiſtles to Atticus, ſays, Pompey made but little ſecret of this unjuſtifiable ambition. Theſe paſſages are remarkable. *Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noſter Syllani regni ſimilitudinem concupivit:* Ειδως σοι λεγω, *nihil ille unquam minus obſcure tulit.* Lib. vii. ep. 9. "Our friend Pompey is wonderfully de-"ſirous of obtaining a power like that of Sylla: I tell you no "more than what I know, for he makes no ſecret of it." And again; *Hoc turpe Cneius noſter biennio ante cogitavit; ita Sylla turit animus ejus, et proſcripturit.* Ibid. ep. 10. "Pompey has been forming "this infamous deſign for theſe two years paſt; ſo ſtrongly is he "bent upon imitating Sylla, and proſcribing like him." Hence we ſee how happy it was for Rome, that in the civil wars Cæſar, and not Pompey, proved the conqueror.

A ſe-

A ſecond * triumph was decreed him together with the conſulſhip. But theſe were not conſidered as the moſt extraordinary inſtances of his power. The ſtrongeſt proof of his greatneſs was, that Craſſus, the richeſt, the moſt eloquent, and moſt powerful man in the adminiſtration, who uſed to look down upon Pompey and all the world, did not venture to ſollicit the conſulſhip without firſt aſking Pompey's leave. Pompey, who had long wiſhed for an opportunity to lay an obligation upon him, received the application with pleaſure, and made great intereſt with the people in his behalf; declaring he ſhould take their giving him Craſſus for a collegue, as kindly as their favour to himſelf.

Yet when they were elected conſuls, they diſagreed in every thing, and were embroiled in all their meaſures. Craſſus had moſt intereſt with the ſenate, and Pompey with the people. For he had reſtored them the tribunitial power, and had ſuffered a law to be made, that † judges ſhould again be appointed out of the equeſtrian order. However, the moſt agreeable ſpectacle of all to the people was Pompey himſelf, when he went to claim his exemption from ſerving in the wars. It was the cuſtom for a Roman knight, when he had ſerved the time ordered by law, to lead his horſe into the *forum*, before the two magiſtrates called cenſors; and after having given account of the generals and other officers under whom he had made his campaigns, and of his own actions in them, to demand his diſcharge. On theſe occaſions they received proper marks of honour or diſgrace, according to their behaviour.

* He triumphed towards the end of the year of Rome 682, and at the ſame time was declared conſul for the year enſuing. This was a peculiar honour, to gain the conſulate without firſt bearing the ſubordinate offices; but his two triumphs, and great ſervices, excuſed that deviation from the common rules.

† L. Aurelius Cotta carried that point when he was prætor; and Plutarch ſays *again*, becauſe Caius Gracchus had conveyed that privilege to the knights fifty years before.

Gellius

Gellius and Lentulus were then cenſors, and had taken their ſeats in a manner that became their dignity, to review the whole equeſtrian order, when Pompey was ſeen at a diſtance, with all the badges of his office, as conſul, leading his horſe by the bridle. As ſoon as he was near enough to be obſerved by the cenſors, he ordered his *lictors* to make an opening, and advanced, with his horſe in his hand, to the foot of the tribunal. The people were ſtruck with admiration, and a profound ſilence took place; at the ſame time a joy, mingled with reverence, was viſible in the countenances of the cenſors. The ſenior cenſor then addreſſed him as follows: "Pompey the Great, I de-"mand of you, whether you have ſerved all the cam-"paigns required by law?" He anſwered with a loud voice, "I have ſerved them all; and all under my-"ſelf, as general." The people were ſo charmed with this anſwer, that there was no end of their acclamations: At laſt, the cenſors roſe up, and conducted Pompey to his houſe, to indulge the multitude, who followed him with the loudeſt plaudits.

When the end of his conſulſhip approached, and his difference with Craſſus was increaſing daily, Caius * Aurelius, a man who was of the equeſtrian order, but had never intermeddled with ſtate affairs, one day, when the people were met in full aſſembly, aſcended the *roſtra*, and ſaid, "Jupiter had appeared to him in "a dream, and commanded him to acquaint the "conſuls, that they muſt take care to be reconciled "before they laid down their office." Pompey ſtood ſtill, and held his peace; but Craſſus went and gave him his hand, and ſaluted him in a friendly manner. At the ſame time he addreſſed the people, as follows: "I think, my fellow-citizens, there is nothing diſho-"nourable or mean in making the firſt advances to "Pompey, whom you ſcrupled not to dignify with "the name of *the Great*, when he was yet but a

* Ovatius Aurelius.

"beardleſs

"beardleſs youth, and for whom you voted two tri-
"umphs before he was a ſenator." Thus reconciled, they laid down the conſulſhip.

Craſſus continued his former manner of life; but Pompey now ſeldom choſe to plead the cauſes of thoſe that applied to him, and by degrees he left the bar. Indeed, he ſeldom appeared in public, and when he did, it was always with a great train of friends and attendants; ſo that it was not eaſy either to ſpeak to him or ſee him, but in the midſt of a crowd. He took pleaſure in having a number of retainers about him, becauſe he thought it gave him an air of greatneſs and majeſty, and he was perſuaded that dignity ſhould be kept from being ſoiled by the familiarity, and indeed by the very touch of the many. For thoſe who are raiſed to greatneſs by arms, and know not how to deſcend again to the equality required in a republic, are very liable to fall into contempt when they reſume the robe of peace. The ſoldier is deſirous to preſerve the rank in the *forum* which he had in the field; and he who cannot diſtinguiſh himſelf in the field, thinks it intolerable to give place in the adminiſtration too. When therefore the latter has got the man who ſhone in camps and triumphs, into the aſſemblies at home, and finds him attempting to maintain the ſame pre-eminence there, of courſe he endeavours to humble him; whereas, if the warrior pretends not to take the lead in domeſtic councils, he is readily allowed the palm of military glory. This ſoon appeared from the ſubſequent events.

The power of the pirates had its foundation in Cilicia. Their progreſs was the more dangerous, becauſe at firſt it was little taken notice of. In the Mithridatic war they aſſumed new confidence and courage, on account of ſome ſervices they had rendered the King. After this, the Romans being engaged in civil wars at the very gates of their capital, the ſea was left unguarded, and the pirates by degrees attempted higher things;

things; they not only attacked ſhips, but iſlands and maritime towns. Many perſons, diſtinguiſhed for their wealth, their birth, and their capacity, embarked with them, and aſſiſted in their depredations, as if their employment had been worthy the ambition of men of honour. They had in various places arſenals, ports, and watch-towers, all ſtrongly fortified. Their fleets were not only extremely well manned, ſupplied with ſkilful pilots, and fitted for their buſineſs by their lightneſs and celerity; but there was a parade of vanity about them more mortifying than their ſtrength, in gilded ſterns, purple canopies, and plated oars; as if they took a pride and triumphed in their villainy. Muſic reſounded, and drunken revels were exhibited on every coaſt. Here generals were made priſoners; there the cities the pirates had taken were paying their ranſom; all to the great diſgrace of the Roman power. The number of their gallies amounted to a thouſand, and the cities they were maſters of, to four hundred.

Temples, which had ſtood inviolably ſacred till that time, they plundered. They ruined the temple of Apollo at Claros, that, where he was worſhiped, under the title of * Didymæus, that of the Cabiri in Samothrace, that of † Ceres at Hermiona, that of Æſculapius at Epidaurus, thoſe of Neptune in the Iſthmus, at Tænarus and in Calauria, thoſe of Apollo at Actium and in the iſle of Leucas, thoſe of Juno at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of ‡ Lacinium.

* So called from Didyme, in the territories of Miletus.

† Pauſanias *(in Laconic.)* tells us, the Lacedæmonians worſhip Ceres under the name of *Chthonia*; and *(in Corinthiac.)* he gives us the reaſon of her having that name. "The Argives ſay, that "Chthonia, the daughter of Colontas, having been ſaved out of "a conflagration by Ceres, and conveyed to Hermione, built a "temple to that goddeſs, who was worſhiped there under the "name of Chthonia."

‡ The printed text gives us the erroneous reading of *Leucanium*, but two manuſcripts give us *Lacinium*. Livy often mentions Juno *Lacinia*.

They

They likewiſe offered ſtrange ſacrifices, thoſe of * Olympus I mean; and they celebrated certain ſecret myſteries, among which thoſe of † Mithra continue to this day, being originally inſtituted by them. They not only inſulted the Romans at ſea, but infeſted the great roads, and plundered the villas near the coaſt: They carried off Sextilius and Bellinus, two prætors, in their purple robes, with all their ſervants and *lictors*. They ſeized the daughter of Antony, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, as ſhe was going to her country-houſe, and he was forced to pay a large ranſom for her.

But the moſt contemptuous circumſtance of all was, that when they had taken a priſoner, and he cried out that he was a Roman, and told them his name, they pretended to be ſtruck with terror, ſmote their thighs, and fell upon their knees to aſk him pardon. The poor man ſeeing them thus humble themſelves before him, thought them in earneſt, and ſaid he would forgive them; for ſome were ſo officious as to put on his ſhoes, and others to help him on with his gown, that his quality might no more be miſtaken. When they had carried on this farce, and enjoyed it for ſome time, they let a ladder down into the ſea, and bade him go in peace; and, if he refuſed to do it, they puſhed him off the deck, and drowned him.

Their power extended over the whole Tuſcan ſea, ſo that the Romans found their trade and navigation entirely cut off. The conſequence of which was, that their markets were not ſupplied, and they had reaſon to apprehend a famine. This, at laſt, put them upon ſending Pompey to clear the ſea of pirates. Gabinius, one of Pompey's intimate friends, propoſed the

* Not on mount Olympus, but in the city of Olympus, near Phaſelis in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of the pirates. What ſort of ſacrifices they uſed to offer there, is not known.

† According to Herodotus, the Perſians worſhiped Venus under the name of Mithres, or Mithra; but the ſun is worſhiped in that country.

decree,

decree *, which created him, not admiral, but monarch, and inveſted him with abſolute power. The decree gave him the empire of the ſea as far as the pillars of Hercules, and of the land for four hundred furlongs from the coaſts. There were few parts of the Roman empire which this commiſſion did not take in; and the moſt conſiderable of the Barbarous nations, and moſt powerful kings, were moreover comprehended in it. Beſide this, he was impowered to chuſe out of the ſenators fifteen lieutenants, to act under him, in ſuch diſtricts, and with ſuch authority, as he ſhould appoint. He was to take from the queſtors, and other public receivers, what money he pleaſed, and equip a fleet of two hundred ſail. The number of marine forces, of mariners and rowers, was left entirely to his diſcretion.

When this decree was read in the aſſembly, the people received it with inconceivable pleaſure. The moſt reſpectable part of the ſenate ſaw, indeed, that ſuch an abſolute and unlimited power was above envy, but they conſidered it as a real object of fear. They therefore all, except Cæſar, oppoſed its paſſing into a law. He was for it, not out of regard for Pompey, but to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of the people, which he had long been courting. The reſt were very ſevere in their expreſſions againſt Pompey; and † one of the conſuls venturing to ſay, "If he "imitates Romulus, he will not eſcape his fate," was in danger of being pulled in pieces by the populace.

It is true, when Catulus roſe up to ſpeak againſt the law, out of reverence for his perſon they liſtened to him with great attention. After he had freely given Pompey the honour that was his due, and ſaid much

* This law was made in the year of Rome 686. The crafty tribune, when he propoſed it, did not name Pompey. Pompey was now in the thirty-ninth year of his age. His friend Gabinius, as appears from Cicero, was a man of infamous character.

† The conſuls of this year were Calpurnius Piſo, and Acilius Glabrio.

in his praiſe, he adviſed them to ſpare him, and not to expoſe ſuch a man to ſo many dangers; "for where "will you find another," ſaid he, "if you loſe "him?" They anſwered with one voice, "Your-"ſelf." Finding his arguments had no effect, he retired. Then Roſcius mounted the roſtrum, but not a man would give ear to him. However, he made ſigns to them with his fingers, that they ſhould not appoint Pompey alone, but give him a collegue. Incenſed at this propoſal, they ſet up ſuch a ſhout, that a crow, which was flying over the *forum*, was ſtunned with the force of it, and fell down among the crowd. Hence we may conclude, that when birds fall on ſuch occaſions, it is not becauſe the air is ſo divided with the ſhock as to leave a *vacuum*, but rather becauſe the ſound ſtrikes them like a blow, when it aſcends with ſuch force, and produces ſo violent an agitation.

The aſſembly broke up that day, without coming to any reſolution. When the day came that they were to give their ſuffrages, Pompey retired into the country; and, on receiving information that the decree was paſſed, he returned to the city by night, to prevent the envy which the multitudes of people coming to meet him, would have excited. Next morning at break of day he made his appearance, and attended the ſacrifice. After which, he ſummoned an aſſembly, and obtained a grant of almoſt as much more as the firſt decree had given him. He was impowered to fit out five hundred gallies, and to raiſe an army of a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. Twenty-four ſenators were ſelected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants; and he had two quæſtors given him. As the price of proviſions fell immediately, the people were greatly pleaſed, and it gave them occaſion to ſay, "The very name of Pompey had terminated the war."

However, in purſuance of his charge, he divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, appointing a lieutenant for each, and aſſigning him a ſquadron. By thus

thus ſtationing his fleets in all quarters, he encloſed the pirates as it were in a net, took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. Such of their veſſels as had diſperſed and made off in time, or could eſcape the general chace, retired to Cilicia, like ſo many bees into a hive. Againſt theſe he propoſed to go himſelf with ſixty of his beſt gallies; but firſt he reſolved to clear the Tuſcan ſea, and the coaſts of Africa, Sardinia, Corſica, and Sicily of all piratical adventurers; which he effected in forty days, by his own indefatigable endeavours and thoſe of his lieutenants. But, as the conſul Piſo was indulging his malignity at home, in waſting his ſtores and diſcharging his ſeamen, he ſent his fleet round to Brunduſium, and went himſelf by land through Tuſcany to Rome.

As ſoon as the people were informed of his approach, they went in crowds to receive him, in the ſame manner as they had done a few days before, to conduct him on his way. Their extraordinary joy was owing to the ſpeed with which he had executed his commiſſion, ſo far beyond all expectation, and to the ſuperabundant plenty which reigned in the markets. For this reaſon Piſo was in danger of being depoſed from the conſulſhip, and Gabinius had a decree ready drawn up for that purpoſe. But Pompey would not ſuffer him to propoſe it. On the contrary, his ſpeech to the people was full of candour and moderation; and when he had provided ſuch things as he wanted, he went to Brunduſium, and put to ſea again. Though he was ſtraitened for time, and in his haſte ſailed by many cities without calling, yet he ſtopped at Athens. He entered the town and ſacrificed to the gods; after which he addreſſed the people, and then prepared to reimbark immediately. As he went out of the gate he obſerved two inſcriptions, each comprized in one line.

That within the gate was—

But know thyſelf a man, and be a god.

That without—

We wiſh'd, we ſaw; we lov'd, and we ador'd.

Some of the pirates who yet traverſed the ſeas, made their ſubmiſſion; and as he treated them in a humane manner, when he had them and their ſhips in his power, others entertained hopes of mercy, and, avoiding the other officers, ſurrendered themſelves to Pompey, together with their wives and children. He ſpared them all; and it was principally by their means that he found out and took a number who were guilty of unpardonable crimes, and therefore had concealed themſelves.

Still, however, there remained a great number, and indeed the moſt powerful part of theſe corſairs, who ſent their families, treaſures, and all uſeleſs hands, into caſtles and fortified towns upon Mount Taurus. Then they manned their ſhips, and waited for Pompey at Coraceſium, in Cilicia. A battle enſued, and the pirates were defeated; after which they retired into the fort. But they had not been long beſieged before they capitulated, and ſurrendered themſelves, together with the cities and iſlands which they had conquered and fortified, and which by their works, as well as ſituation, were almoſt impregnable. Thus the war was finiſhed, and the whole force of the pirates deſtroyed, within three months at the fartheſt.

Beſide the other veſſels, Pompey took ninety ſhips with beaks of braſs; and the priſoners amounted to twenty thouſand. He did not chuſe to put them to death, and at the ſame time he thought it wrong to ſuffer them to diſperſe, becauſe they were not only numerous, but warlike and neceſſitous, and therefore would probably knit again and give future trouble. He reflected, that man by nature is neither a ſavage nor unſocial creature; and when he becomes ſo, it is by vices contrary to nature; yet even then he may be humanized by changing his place of abode, and accuſtoming him to a new manner of life; as beaſts that are

are naturally wild, put off their fierceneſs, when they are kept in a domeſtic way. For this reaſon he determined to remove the pirates to a great diſtance from the ſea, and bring them to taſte the ſweets of civil life, by living in cities and by the culture of the ground. He placed ſome of them in the little towns of Cilicia, which were almoſt deſolate, and which received them with pleaſure, becauſe at the ſame time he gave them an additional proportion of lands. He repaired the city of * Soli, which had lately been diſmantled and deprived of its inhabitants by Tigranes, King of Armenia, and peopled it with a number of theſe corſairs. The remainder, which was a conſiderable body, he planted in Dyma, a city of Achaia, which, though it had a large and fruitful territory, was in want of inhabitants.

Such as looked upon Pompey with envy, found fault with theſe proceedings; but his conduct with reſpect to Metellus in Crete, was not agreeable to his beſt friends. This was a relation of that Metellus who commanded in conjunction with Pompey in Spain, and he had been ſent into Crete ſome time before Pompey was employed in this war. For Crete was the ſecond nurſery of pirates after Cilicia. Metellus had deſtroyed many nefts of them there, and the remainder, who were beſieged by him at this time, addreſſed themſelves to Pompey as ſuppliants, and invited him into the iſland, as included in his commiſſion, and falling within the diſtance he had a right to carry his arms from the ſea. He liſtened to their application, and by letter enjoined Metellus to take no farther ſteps in the war. At the ſame time he ordered the cities of Crete not to obey Metellus, but Lucius Octavius, one of his own lieutenants, whom he ſent to take the command.

Octavius went in among the beſieged, and fought on their ſide. A circumſtance which rendered Pompey not only odious, but ridiculous. For what could be

* He called it after his own name Pompeiopolis.

more abſurd, than to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo blinded by his envy and jealouſy of Metellus, as to lend his name and authority to a crew of profligate wretches, to be uſed as a kind of amulet to defend them. Achilles was not thought to behave like a man, but like a frantic youth carried away by an extravagant paſſion for fame, when he made ſigns to his troops not to touch Hector,

Leſt ſome ſtrong arm ſhould ſnatch the glorious prize
Before Pelides.———

But Pompey fought for the common enemies of mankind, in order to deprive a prætor, who was labouring to deſtroy them, of the honours of a triumph. Metellus, however, purſued his operations, till he took the pirates and put them all to death. As for Octavius, he expoſed him in the camp as an object of contempt, and loaded him with reproaches; after which he diſmiſſed him.

When news was brought to Rome, that the war with the pirates was finiſhed, and that Pompey was beſtowing his leiſure upon viſiting the cities, Manilius, one of the tribunes of the people, propoſed a decree, which gave him all the provinces and forces under the command of Lucullus, adding likewiſe Bithynia, which was then governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry on the war againſt Mithridates and Tigranes; for which purpoſe he was alſo to retain his naval command. This was ſubjecting at once the whole Roman empire to one man. For, the provinces which the former decree did not give him, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the Upper Colchis, and Armenia, were granted by this, together with all the forces, which, under Lucullus, had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.

By this law, Lucullus was deprived of the honours he had dearly earned, and had a perſon to ſucceed him in his triumph, rather than in the war; but that was not the thing which affected the patricians moſt. They were perſuaded, indeed, that Lucullus was treated with injuſtice

injuſtice and ingratitude; but it was a much more painful circumſtance, to think of a power in the hands of Pompey, which they could call nothing but a * tyranny. They therefore exhorted and encouraged each other to oppoſe the law, and maintain their liberty. Yet when the time came, their fear of the people prevailed, and no one ſpoke on the occaſion but Catulus. He urged many arguments againſt the bill; and when he found they had no effect upon the commons, he addreſſed himſelf to the ſenators, and called upon them many times from the *roſtrum*, "To ſeek ſome mountain, as their anceſtors had done, ſome rock whither they might fly for the preſervation of liberty."

We are told, however, that the bill was paſſed by all the tribes †, and almoſt the ſame univerſal authority conferred upon Pompey in his abſence, which Sylla did not gain but by the ſword, and by carrying war into the bowels of his country. When Pompey received the letters which notified his high promotion, and his friends, who happened to be by, congratulated him on the occaſion, he is ſaid to have knit his brows, ſmote his thigh, and expreſſed himſelf as if he was already overburthened and wearied with the weight of power ‡: "Alas! is there no end of my conflicts? How much better would it have been to be one of the undiſtinguiſhed many, than to be perpetually engaged in war? Shall I never be able to fly from

* "We have then got at laſt," ſaid they, "a ſovereign; the republic is changed into a monarchy; the ſervices of Lucullus, the honour of Glabrio and Marcius, two zealous and worthy ſenators, are to be ſacrificed to the promotion of Pompey. Sylla never carried his tyranny ſo far."

† Two great men ſpoke in favour of the law, namely, Cicero and Cæſar. The former aimed at the conſulate, which Pompey's party could more eaſily procure him, than that of Catulus and the ſenate. As for Cæſar, he was delighted to ſee the people inſenſibly loſe that republican ſpirit and love of liberty, which might one day obſtruct the vaſt deſigns he had already formed.

‡ Is it poſſible to read this without recollecting the ſimilar character of our Richard the Third?

"envy to a rural retreat, to domeſtic happineſs, and "conjugal endearments?" Even his friends were unable to bear the diſſimulation of this ſpeech. They knew that the flame of his native ambition and luſt of power was blown up to a greater height by the difference he had with Lucullus, and that he rejoiced the more in the preſent preference, on that account.

His actions ſoon unmaſked the man. He cauſed public notice to be given in all places within his commiſſion, that the Roman troops were to repair to him, as well as the kings and princes their allies. Wherever he went, he annulled the acts of Lucullus; remitting the fines he had impoſed, and taking away the rewards he had given. In ſhort, he omitted no means to ſhew the partizans of that general, that all his authority was gone.

Lucullus, of courſe, complained of this treatment; and their common friends were of opinion, that it would be beſt for them to come to an interview; accordingly they met in Galatia. As they had both given diſtinguiſhed proofs of military merit, the *lictors* had entwined the rods of each with laurel. Lucullus had marched through a country full of flouriſhing groves, but Pompey's route was dry and barren, without the ornament or advantage of woods. His laurels, therefore, were parched and withered; which the ſervants of Lucullus no ſooner obſerved, than they freely ſupplied them with freſh ones, and crowned his *faſces* with them. This ſeemed to be an omen that Pompey would bear away the honours and rewards of Lucullus's victories. Lucullus had been conſul before Pompey, and was the older man, but Pompey's two triumphs gave him the advantage in point of dignity.

Their interview had at firſt the face of great politeneſs and civility. They began with mutual compliments and congratulations: But they ſoon loſt ſight even of candour and moderation; they proceeded to abuſive language; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus accuſing Pompey of an inſatiable luſt

luſt of power; inſomuch that their friends found it difficult to prevent violence. After this, Lucullus gave his friends and followers lands in Galatia, as a conquered country, and made other conſiderable grants. But Pompey, who encamped at a little diſtance from him, declared he would not ſuffer his orders to be carried into execution, and ſeduced all his ſoldiers, except ſixteen hundred, who, he knew, were ſo mutinous that they would be as unſerviceable to him as they had been ill affected to their old General. Nay, he ſcrupled not to diſparage the conduct of Lucullus, and to repreſent his actions in a deſpicable light. "The battles of Lucullus, he ſaid, were only mock-"battles, and he had fought with nothing but the "ſhadows of kings; but that it was left for *him* to "contend with real ſtrength, and well-diſciplined ar-"mies; ſince Mithridates had betaken himſelf to "ſwords and ſhields, and knew how to make a proper "uſe of his cavalry."

On the other hand, Lucullus defended himſelf by obſerving, "That it was nothing new to Pompey to "fight with phantoms and ſhadows of war: for, "like a daſtardly bird, he had been accuſtomed to "prey upon thoſe whom he had not killed, and to "tear the poor remains of a dying oppoſition. Thus "he had arrogated to himſelf the conqueſt of Serto-"rius, of Lepidus, and Spartacus, which originally "belonged to Metellus, to Catulus, and Craſſus. "Conſequently, he did not wonder that he was come "to claim the honour of finiſhing the wars of Arme-"nia and Pontus, after he had thruſt himſelf into the "triumph over the fugitive ſlaves."

In a little time Lucullus departed for Rome; and Pompey having ſecured the ſea from Phœnicia to the Boſphorus, marched in queſt of Mithridates, who had an army of thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, but durſt not ſtand an engagement. That prince was in poſſeſſion of a ſtrong and ſecure poſt upon a mountain, which he quitted upon Pompey's approach,

approach, becauſe it was deſtitute of water. Pompey encamped in the ſame place; and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and the crevices in the mountain, that ſprings might be found, he ordered a number of wells to be dug, and the camp was in a ſhort time plentifully ſupplied with water *. He was not a little ſurpriſed that this did not occur to Mithridates during the whole time of his encampment there.

After this, Pompey followed him to his new camp, and drew a line of circumvallation round him. Mithridates ſtood a ſiege of forty-five days, after which he found means to ſteal off with his beſt troops, having firſt killed all the ſick, and ſuch as could be of no ſervice. Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates, and encamped over againſt him; but fearing he might paſs the river unperceived, he drew out his troops at midnight. At that time Mithridates is ſaid to have had a dream prefigurative of what was to befal him. He thought he was upon the Pontic ſea, ſailing with a favourable wind, and in ſight of the Boſphorus; ſo that he felicitated his friends in the ſhip, like a man perfectly ſafe, and already in harbour. But ſuddenly he beheld himſelf in the moſt deſtitute condition, ſwimming upon a piece of wreck. While he was in all the agitation which this dream produced, his friends awaked him, and told him that Pompey was at hand. He was now under a neceſſity of fighting for his camp, and his Generals drew up the forces with all poſſible expedition.

Pompey ſeeing them prepared, was loth to riſk a battle in the dark. He thought it ſufficient to ſurround them, ſo as to prevent their flight; and what inclined him ſtill more to wait for day-light, was the conſideration that his troops were much better than the enemy's. However, the oldeſt of his officers intreated him to proceed immediately to the attack, and at laſt prevailed. It was not indeed very dark; for the

* Paulus Æmilius had done the ſame thing long before, in the Macedonian war.

moon,

moon, though near her ſetting, gave light enough to diſtinguiſh objects. But it was a great diſadvantage to the king's troops, that the moon was ſo low, and on the backs of the Romans; becauſe ſhe projected their ſhadows ſo far before them, that the enemy could form no juſt eſtimate of the diſtances, but thinking them at hand, threw their javelins before they could do the leaſt execution.

The Romans perceiving their miſtake, advanced to the charge with all the alarm of voices. The enemy were in ſuch a conſternation that they made not the leaſt ſtand, and, in their flight, vaſt numbers were ſlain. They loſt above ten thouſand men, and their camp was taken. As for Mithridates, he broke through the Romans with eight hundred horſe, in the beginning of the engagement. That corps, however, did not follow him far before they diſperſed, and left him with only three of his people; one of which was his concubine Hypſicratia, a woman of ſuch a maſculine and daring ſpirit, that the king uſed to call her Hypſicrates. She then rode a Perſian horſe, and was dreſſed in a man's habit, of the faſhion of that nation. She complained not in the leaſt of the length of the march; and beſide that fatigue, ſhe waited on the king, and took care of his horſe, till they reached the caſtle of *Inora, where the king's treaſure, and his moſt valuable moveables were depoſited. Mithridates took out thence many rich robes, and beſtowed them on thoſe who repaired to him after their flight. He furniſhed each of his friends, too, with a quantity of poiſon, that none of them, againſt their will, might come alive into the enemy's hands.

From Inora his deſign was to go to Tigranes in Armenia. But Tigranes had given up the cauſe, and ſet a price of no leſs than a hundred talents upon his

* It ſeems from a paſſage in Strabo, (B. xii.) that, inſtead of *Inora*, we ſhould read, *Sinoria*: For that was one of the many fortreſſes Mithridates had built between the greater and the leſs Armenia.

head.

head. He therefore changed his route, and having paſſed the head of the Euphrates, directed his flight through Colchis.

In the mean time, Pompey entered Armenia, upon the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, and was gone to meet the Roman general at the river Araxes. This river takes its riſe near the ſource of the Euphrates, but bends its courſe eaſtward, and empties itſelf into the Caſpian ſea. Pompey and young Tigranes, in their march, received the homage of the cities through which they paſſed. As for Tigranes the father, he had been lately defeated by Lucullus; and now, being informed that Pompey was of a mild and humane diſpoſition, he received a Roman garriſon into his capital; and taking his friends and relations with him, went to ſurrender himſelf. As he rode up to the entrenchments, two of Pompey's *Lictors* came and ordered him to diſmount, and enter on foot; aſſuring him that no man was ever ſeen on horſeback in a Roman camp. Tigranes obeyed, and even took off his ſword, and gave it them. As ſoon as he came before Pompey, he pulled off his diadem, and attempted to lay it at his feet. What was ſtill worſe, he was going to proſtrate himſelf, and embrace his knees. But Pompey preventing it, took him by the hand, and placed him on one ſide of him, and his ſon on the other. Then addreſſing himſelf to the father, he ſaid, "As to what you had loſt before, you loſt it "to Lucullus. It was he who took from you Syria, "Phenicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene. But what "you kept till my time, I will reſtore you, on condi- "tion you pay the Romans a fine of ſix thouſand ta- "lents for the injury you have done them. Your ſon "I will make king of Sophene."

Tigranes thought himſelf ſo happy in theſe terms, and in finding that the Romans ſaluted him King, that in the joy of his heart he promiſed every private ſoldier half a *mina*, every centurion ten *mina*'s, and every tribune a talent. But his ſon was little pleaſed at

at the determination; and when he was invited to ſupper, he ſaid, "He had no need of ſuch honours "from Pompey; for he could find another Roman." Upon this, he was bound, and reſerved in chains for the triumph. Not long after, Phraätes, king of Parthia, ſent to demand the young Prince, as his ſon-in-law, and to propoſe that the Euphrates ſhould be the boundary between him and the Roman empire. Pompey anſwered, "That Tigranes was certainly nearer to "his father than his father-in-law; and as for the "boundary, juſtice ſhould direct it."

When he had diſpatched this affair, he left Afranius to take care of Armenia, and marched himſelf to the countries bordering on Mount Caucaſus, through which he muſt neceſſarily paſs in ſearch of Mithridates. The Albanians and Iberians are the principal nations in theſe parts. The Iberian territories touch upon the Moſchian mountains and the kingdom of Pontus; the Albanians ſtretch more to the eaſt, and extend to the Caſpian ſea. The Albanians at firſt granted Pompey a paſſage: But as winter overtook him in their dominions, they took the opportunity of the *Saturnalia*, which the Romans obſerve religiouſly, to aſſemble their forces to the number of forty thouſand men, with a reſolution to attack them; and for that purpoſe paſſed the * Cyrnus. The Cyrnus riſes in the Iberian mountains, and being joined in its courſe by the Araxes from Armenia, it diſcharges itſelf, by twelve mouths, into the Caſpian ſea. Some ſay, the † Araxes does not run into it, but has a ſeparate channel, and empties itſelf near it into the ſame ſea.

Pompey ſuffered them to paſs the river, though it was in his power to have hindered it; and when they were all got over, he attacked and routed them, and killed great numbers on the ſpot. Their king ſent

* Strabo and Pliny call this river *Cyrus*, and ſo Plutarch probably wrote it.

† This is Strabo's opinion, in which he is followed by the modern geographers.

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ambaſſadors to beg for mercy; upon which, Pompey forgave him the violence he had offered, and entered into alliance with him. This done, he marched againſt the Iberians, who were equally numerous and more warlike, and who were very deſirous to ſignalize their zeal for Mithridates, by repulſing Pompey. The Iberians were never ſubject to the Medes or Perſians: They eſcaped even the Macedonian yoke, becauſe Alexander was obliged to leave Hyrcania in haſte. Pompey, however, defeated this people, too, in a great battle, in which he killed no leſs than nine thouſand, and took above ten thouſand priſoners.

After this, he threw himſelf into Colchis; and Servilius came and joined him at the mouth of the Phaſis, with the fleet appointed to guard the Euxine ſea. The purſuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties; for he had concealed himſelf among the nations ſettled about the Boſphorus and the Palus Mæotis. Beſides, news was brought Pompey that the Albanians had revolted, and taken up arms again. The deſire of revenge determined him to march back, and chaſtiſe them. But it was with infinite trouble and danger that he paſſed the Cyrnus again, the Barbarians having fenced it on their ſide with palliſades all along the banks. And when he was over, he had a large country to traverſe, which afforded no water. This laſt difficulty he provided againſt, by filling ten thouſand bottles; and purſuing his march, he found the enemy drawn up on the banks of the river * Abas, to the number of ſixty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, but many of them ill armed, and provided with nothing of the defenſive kind but ſkins of beaſts.

They were commanded by the king's brother, named Coſis; who, at the beginning of the battle, ſingled out Pompey, and ruſhing in upon him, ſtruck his javelin into the joints of his breaſt-plate. Pompey in return run him through with his ſpear, and laid him dead

* This river takes its riſe in the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caſpian ſea. Ptolemy calls it *Albanus*.

on

on the ſpot. It is ſaid, that the Amazons came to the aſſiſtance of the Barbarians from the mountains near the river Thermodon, and fought in this battle. The Romans, among the plunder of the field, did indeed meet with bucklers in the form of a half-moon, and ſuch buſkins as the Amazons wore; but there was not the body of a woman found among the dead. They inhabit that part of Mount Caucaſus which ſtretches towards the Hyrcanian ſea, and are not next neighbours to the * Albanians; for Gelæ and Leges lie between; but they meet that people, and ſpend two months with them every year on the banks of the Thermodon: After which they retire to their own country, where they live without the company of men.

After this action, Pompey deſigned to make his way to the Caſpian ſea, and march by its coaſts into Hyrcania †; but he found the number of venomous ſerpents ſo troubleſome, that he was forced to return, when ‡ three days march more would have carried him as far as he propoſed. The next rout he took was into Armenia the Leſs, where he gave audience to ambaſſadors from the kings of the § Elymæans and the Medes, and diſmiſſed them with letters expreſſive of his regard. Mean time the king of Parthia had entered Gordyene, and was doing infinite damage to the ſubjects of Tigranes. Againſt him Pompey ſent A-

* The Albanian forces, according to Strabo, were numerous, but ill-diſciplined. Their offenſive weapons were darts and arrows, and their defenſive armour was made of the ſkins of beaſts.

† — Ελαυνειν επι την Υρκανιαν και Κασπιαν θαλασσαν — Plutarch mentions the Caſpian ſea after Hyrcania. But as that ſea lies very near Albania, there was no neceſſity for Pompey to go through Hyrcania to it. Perhaps Plutarch meant the other extremity of the Caſpian ſea.

‡ Τριων ὁδον ἡμερων απεσχον. The former Engliſh tranſlator erroneouſly renders this, was forced to retreat *after three days march.*

§ Strabo (Lib. xvi.) places the Elymæans in that part of Aſſyria which borders upon Media, and mentions three provinces belonging to them, Gabiane, Meſſabatice, and Corbiane. He adds, that they were powerful enough to refuſe ſubmiſſion to the king of Parthia.

franius,

franius, who put him to the route, and purſued him as far as the province of Arbelis.

Among all the concubines of Mithridates that were brought before Pompey, he touched not one, but ſent them to their parents or huſbands; for moſt of them were either daughters or wives of the great officers and principal perſons of the kingdom. But Stratonice, who was the firſt favourite, and had the care of a fort where the beſt part of the king's treaſures was lodged, was the daughter of a poor old muſician. She ſung one evening to Mithridates at an entertainment, and he was ſo much pleaſed with her, that he took her to his bed that night, and ſent the old man home in no very good humour, becauſe he had taken his daughter without condeſcending to ſpeak one kind word to him. But when he waked next morning, he ſaw tables covered with veſſels of gold and ſilver, a great retinue of eunuchs and pages, who offered him choice of rich robes, and before his gate a horſe with ſuch magnificent furniture, as is provided for thoſe who are called the king's friends. All this he thought nothing but an inſult and burleſque upon him, and therefore prepared for flight; but the ſervants ſtopped him, and aſſured him, that the king had given him the houſe of a rich nobleman lately deceaſed, and that what he ſaw was only the firſt-fruits, a ſmall earneſt, of the fortune he intended him. At laſt he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded that the ſcene was not viſionary; he put on the purple, and mounted the horſe, and as he rode through the city, cried out, "All this is mine." The inhabitants, of courſe, laughed at him; and he told them, "They ſhould not be ſurprized at this behaviour of his, but rather wonder that he did not throw "ſtones at them."

From ſuch a glorious ſource ſprung Stratonice.

She ſurrendered to Pompey the caſtle, and made him many magnificent preſents; however, he took nothing but what might be an ornament to the ſolemnities of religion

gion, and add luſtre to his triumph. The reſt he deſired ſhe would keep for her own enjoyment. In like manner, when the King of Iberia ſent him a bedſtead, a table, and a throne, all of maſſy gold, and begged of him to accept them as a mark of his regard, he bade the quæſtors apply them to the purpoſes of the public revenue.

In the caſtle of Cænon he found the private papers of Mithridates; and he read them with ſome pleaſure, becauſe they diſcovered that prince's real character. From theſe memoirs it appeared, that he had taken off many perſons by poiſon, among whom were his own ſon Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis. His pique againſt the latter took its riſe merely from his having better horſes for the race than he. There were alſo interpretations, both of his own dreams and thoſe of his wives; and the laſcivious letters which had paſſed between him and Monime. Theophanes pretends to ſay, that there was found among thoſe papers a memorial compoſed by *Rutilius, exhorting Mithridates to maſſacre all the Romans in Aſia. But moſt people believe this was a malicious invention of Theophanes, to blacken Rutilius, whom probably he hated, becauſe he was a perfect contraſt to him; or it might be invented by Pompey, whoſe father was repreſented in Rutilius's hiſtories as one of the worſt of men.

From Cænon Pompey marched to Amiſus; where his infatuating ambition put him upon very obnoxious meaſures. He had cenſured Lucullus much for diſpoſing of provinces at a time when the war was alive, and for beſtowing other conſiderable gifts and honours, which conquerors uſe to grant after their wars are abſolutely terminated. And yet when Mithridates was maſter of the Boſphorus, and had aſſembled a very reſpectable army again, the ſame Pom-

* P. Rutilius Rufus was conſul in the year of Rome 649. Cicero gives him a great character. He was afterwards baniſhed into Aſia, and when Sylla recalled him, he refuſed to return. He wrote a Roman hiſtory in Greek, which Appian made great uſe of.

pey did the very thing he had cenſured. As if he had finiſhed the whole, he diſpoſed of governments, and diſtributed other rewards among his friends. On that occaſion many princes and generals, and among them twelve Barbarian kings, appeared before him; and to gratify thoſe Princes, when he wrote to the king of Parthia, he refuſed to give him the title of King of Kings, by which he was uſually addreſſed.

He was paſſionately deſirous to recover Syria, and paſſing from thence through Arabia, to penetrate to the Red Sea, that he might go on conquering every way to the ocean which ſurrounds the world. In Africa he was the firſt whoſe conqueſts extended to the great ſea; in Spain he ſtretched the Roman dominions to the Atlantic; and in his late purſuit of the Albanians, he wanted but little of reaching the Hyrcanian ſea. In order, therefore, to take the Red Sea too into the circle of his wars, he began his march; the rather, becauſe he ſaw it difficult to hunt out Mithridates with a regular force, and that he was much harder to deal with in his flight than in battle. For this reaſon he ſaid, "He would leave him a ſtronger enemy "than the Romans to cope with, which was famine." In purſuance of this intention, he ordered a number of ſhips to cruiſe about, and prevent any veſſels from entering the Boſphorus with proviſions; and that death ſhould be the puniſhment for ſuch as were taken in the attempt.

As he was upon his march with the beſt part of his army, he found the bodies of thoſe Romans, who fell in the unfortunate battle between * Triarius and Mithridates, ſtill uninterred. He gave them an honourable burial; and the omiſſion of it ſeems to have contributed not a little to the averſion the army had for Lucullus.

* Triarius was defeated by Mithridates three years before Pompey's march into Syria. He had twenty-three tribunes, and a hundred and fifty centurions killed in that battle; and his camp was taken.

Pro-

Proceeding in the execution of his plan, he ſubdued the Arabians about mount Amanus, by his lieutenant Afranius, and deſcended himſelf into Syria; which he converted into a Roman province, becauſe it had no lawful king*. He reduced Judæa, and took its king Ariſtobulus priſoner. He founded ſome cities, and ſet others free; puniſhing the tyrants who had enſlaved them. But moſt of his time was ſpent in adminiſtring juſtice, and in deciding the diſputes between cities and princes. Where he could not go himſelf, he ſent his friends: The Armenians and Parthians, for inſtance, having referred the difference they had about ſome territory, to his deciſion, he ſent three arbitrators to ſettle the affair. His reputation as to power was great, and it was equally reſpectable as to virtue and moderation. This was the thing which palliated moſt of his faults, and thoſe of his miniſters. He knew not how to reſtrain or puniſh the offences of thoſe he employed, but he gave ſo gracious a reception to thoſe who came to complain of them, that they went away not ill ſatisfied with all they had ſuffered from their avarice and oppreſſion.

His firſt favourite was Demetrius, his enfranchiſed ſlave; a young man, who, in other reſpects, did not want underſtanding, but who made an inſolent uſe of his good fortune. They tell us this ſtory of him. Cato the philoſopher, then a young man, but already celebrated for his virtue and greatneſs of mind, went to ſee Antioch, when Pompey was not there. According to cuſtom, he travelled on foot, but his friends accompanied him on horſeback. When he approached the city, he ſaw a great number of people before the gates, all in white, and on the way a troop of young men ranged on one ſide, and of boys on the other.

* Pompey took the temple of Jeruſalem, killing no leſs than twelve thouſand Jews in the action. He entered the temple, contrary to their law, but had the moderation not to touch any of the holy utenſils, or the treaſure belonging to it. Ariſtobulus preſented him with a golden vine, valued at five hundred talents, which he afterwards conſecrated in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

This gave the philoſopher pain; for he thought it a compliment intended him, which he did not want. However, he ordered his friends to alight and walk with him. As ſoon as they were near enough to be ſpoke with, the maſter of the ceremonies, with a crown on his head, and a ſtaff of office in his hand, came up, and aſked them, "Where they had left De-"metrius, and when he might be expected?" Cato's companions laughed, but Cato ſaid only, "Alas, poor "city!" and ſo paſſed on.

Indeed, others might the better endure the inſolence of Demetrius, becauſe Pompey bore with it himſelf. Very often, when Pompey was waiting to receive company, Demetrius ſeated himſelf in a diſreſpectful manner at table, with his *cap of liberty pulled over his ears. Before his return to Italy, he had purchaſed the pleaſanteſt villas about Rome, with magnificent †apartments for entertaining his friends, and ſome of the moſt elegant and expenſive gardens were known by his name. Yet Pompey himſelf was ſatisfied with an indifferent houſe till his third triumph. Afterwards, he built that beautiful and celebrated theatre in Rome, and, as an appendage to it, built himſelf a houſe, much handſomer than the former, but not oſtentatiouſly great; for he who came to be maſter of it after him, at his firſt entrance was ſurpriſed, and aſked, "Where was the room in which "Pompey the Great uſed to ſup?" Such is the account we have of theſe matters.

The king of Arabia Petræa had hitherto conſidered the Romans in no formidable light, but he was really

* The word ἱματιον ſignifies here the cap of liberty worn by freed-men, not the flaps of a robe, which was all that the other Romans had to cover their heads with. Indeed, generally, they went bare-headed.

† The Latin tranſlator renders των ἡβητηριων τα καλλιστα, *pulcherrima gymnaſia*; and Dacier, *les plus beaux parcs pour les exercices de la jeuneſſe*; but Athenæus (l. x.) gives us a more appoſite ſenſe of the word ἡβητηρια καλεισθαι τα συμποσια. Dining-rooms might be called ἡβητηρια, becauſe youth and mirth convey ſimilar ideas.

afraid

afraid of Pompey, and ſent letters to acquaint him, that he was ready to obey all his commands. Pompey, to try the ſincerity of his profeſſions, marched againſt Petra. Many blamed this expedition, looking upon it as no better than a pretext to be excuſed purſuing Mithridates, againſt whom they would have had him turn, as againſt the ancient enemy of Rome; and an enemy, who, according to all accounts, had ſo far recovered his ſtrength, as to propoſe marching through Scythia and Pæonia into Italy. On the other hand, Pompey was of opinion that it was much eaſier to ruin him when at the head of an army, than to take him in his flight, and therefore would not amuſe himſelf with a fruitleſs purſuit, but rather choſe to wait for a new emergency, and, in the mean time, to turn his arms to another quarter.

Fortune ſoon reſolved the doubt. He had advanced near Petra, and encamped for that day, and was taking ſome exerciſe on horſeback without the trenches, when meſſengers arrived from Pontus; and it was plain they brought good news, becauſe the points of their ſpears were crowned with laurel. The ſoldiers ſeeing this, gathered about Pompey, who was inclined to finiſh his exerciſe before he opened the packet; but they were ſo earneſt in their intreaties, that they prevailed upon him to alight and take it. He entered the camp with it in his hand; and as there was no tribunal ready, and the ſoldiers were too impatient to raiſe one of turf, which was the common method, they piled a number of pack-ſaddles one upon another, upon which Pompey mounted, and gave them this information: "Mithridates is dead. He killed himſelf "upon the revolt of his ſon Pharnaces. And Phar-"naces has ſeized all that belonged to his father; "which he declares he has done for himſelf and the "Romans."

At this news the army, as might be expected, gave a looſe to their joy, which they expreſſed in ſacrifices to the gods, and in reciprocal entertainments, as if ten

thouſand of their enemies had been ſlain in Mithridates. Pompey having thus brought the campaign and the whole war to a concluſion ſo happy, and ſo far beyond his hopes, immediately quitted Arabia, traverſed the provinces between that and Galatia with great rapidity, and ſoon arrived at Amiſus. There he found many preſents from Pharnaces, and ſeveral corpſes of the royal family, among which was that of Mithridates. The face of that prince could not be eaſily known, becauſe the embalmers had not taken out the brain, and by the corruption of that, the features were disfigured. Yet ſome that were curious to examine it, diſtinguiſhed it by the ſcars. As for Pompey, he would not ſee the body, but, to propitiate the * avenging deity, ſent it to Sinope. However, he looked upon and admired the magnificence of his habit, and the ſize and beauty of his arms. The ſcabbard of the ſword, which coſt four hundred talents, was ſtolen by one Publius, who ſold it to Ariarathes. And Caius, the foſter-brother of Mithridates, took the diadem, which was of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, and gave it privately to Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla, who had begged it of him. This eſcaped the knowledge of Pompey, but Pharnaces diſcovering it afterwards, puniſhed the perſons guilty of the theft.

Pompey having thoroughly ſettled the affairs of Aſia, proceeded in his return to Rome with more pomp and ſolemnity. When he arrived at Mitylene, he declared it a free city, for the ſake of Theophanes, who was born there. He was preſent at the anniverſary exerciſes of the poets, whoſe ſole ſubject that year was the actions of Pompey. And he was ſo much pleaſed with their theatre, that he took a plan of it, with a deſign to build one like it at Rome, but greater and more noble. When he came to Rhodes, he attended the declamations of all the Sophiſts, and preſented each of them with a talent. Poſidonius committed the diſcourſe to writing, which he made before him againſt

* Nemeſis.

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the poſition of Hermagoras, another profeſſor of rhetoric, concerning * Invention in general. He behaved with equal munificence to the philoſophers at Athens, and gave the people fifty talents for the repair of their city.

He hoped to return to Italy the greateſt and happieſt of men, and that his family would meet his affection with equal ardour. But the deity whoſe care it is always to mix ſome portion of evil with the higheſt and moſt ſplendid favours of fortune, had been long preparing him a ſad welcome in his houſe. Mucia †, in his abſence, had diſhonoured his bed. While he was at a diſtance, he diſregarded the report, but upon his approach to Italy, and a more mature examination into the affair, he ſent her a divorce, without aſſigning his reaſons either then or afterwards. The true reaſon is to be found in Cicero's epiſtles.

People talked variouſly at Rome concerning Pompey's intentions. Many diſturbed themſelves at the thought that he would march with his army immediately to Rome, and make himſelf ſole and abſolute maſter there. Craſſus took his children and money, and withdrew; whether it was that he had ſome real apprehenſions, or rather that he choſe to countenance the calumny, and add force to the ſting of envy; the latter ſeems the more probable. But Pompey had no ſooner ſet foot in Italy, than he called an aſſembly of

* Hermagoras was for reducing *invention* under two general heads, the reaſon of the proceſs, and the ſtate of the queſtion; which limitation Cicero diſapproved as much as his maſter Poſidonius. Vide CICER. de Invent. Rhetor. Lib. i.

This Poſidonius, who is of Apamea, is not to be confounded with Poſidonius of Alexandria, the diſciple of Zeno.

† Mucia was ſiſter to Metellus Celer, and to Metellus Nepos. She was debauched by Cæſar: for which reaſon, when Pompey married Cæſar's daughter, all the world blamed him for turning off a wife by whom he had three children, to eſpouſe the daughter of a man whom he had often, with a ſigh, called his Ægiſthus. Mucia's diſloyalty muſt have been very publick, ſince Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, ſays, the divorce of Mucia meets with general approbation. Lib. i. Ep. xii.

his ſoldiers, and, after a kind and ſuitable addreſs, ordered them to diſperſe in their reſpective cities, and attend to their own affairs till his triumph, on which occaſion they were to repair to him again.

As ſoon as it was known that his troops were diſbanded, an aſtoniſhing change appeared in the face of things. The cities ſeeing Pompey the Great unarmed, and attended by a few friends, as if he was returning only from a common tour, poured out their inhabitants after him, who conducted him to Rome with the ſincereſt pleaſure, and with a much greater force than that which he had diſmiſſed; ſo that there would have been no need of the army, if he had formed any deſigns againſt the ſtate.

As the law did not permit him to enter the city before his triumph, he deſired the ſenate to defer the election of conſuls on his account, that he might by his preſence ſupport the intereſt of Piſo. But Cato oppoſed it, and the motion miſcarried. Pompey, admiring the liberty and firmneſs with which Cato maintained the rights and cuſtoms of his country, at a time when no other man would appear ſo openly for them, determined to gain him if poſſible; and as Cato had two nieces, he offered to marry the one, and aſked the other for his ſon. Cato, however, ſuſpected the bait, and looked upon the propoſed alliance as a means intended to corrupt his integrity. He therefore refuſed it, to the great regret of his wife and ſiſter, who could not but be diſpleaſed at his rejecting ſuch advances from Pompey the Great. Meantime Pompey being deſirous to get the conſulſhip for Afranius, diſtributed money for that purpoſe among the tribes, and the voters went to receive it in Pompey's own gardens. The thing was ſo public, that Pompey was much cenſured for making that office venal, which he had obtained by his great actions, and opening a way to the higheſt honour in the ſtate to thoſe who had money, but wanted merit. Cato then obſerved to the ladies of his family, that they muſt all have ſhared in this diſgrace, if they had

had accepted Pompey's alliance; upon which they acknowledged he was a better judge than they of honour and propriety.

The triumph was ſo great, that though it was divided into two days, the time was far from being ſufficient for diſplaying what was prepared to be carried in proceſſion; there remained ſtill enough to adorn another triumph. At the head of the ſhow appeared the titles of the conquered nations; Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, Meſopotamia, Phœnicia, Paleſtine, Judæa, Arabia, the pirates ſubdued both by ſea and land. In theſe countries, it was mentioned that there were not leſs than a thouſand caſtles, and near nine hundred cities taken; eight hundred gallies taken from the pirates; and thirty-nine deſolate cities repeopled. On the face of the tablets it appeared beſides, that whereas the revenues of the Roman empire before theſe conqueſts amounted but to fifty millions of *drachmas*, by the new acquiſitions they were advanced to eighty-five millions; and that Pompey had brought into the public treaſury, in money and in gold and ſilver veſſels, to the value of twenty thouſand talents, beſides what he had diſtributed among the ſoldiers, of whom he that received leaſt had fifteen hundred drachmas to his ſhare. The captives who walked in the proceſſion (not to mention the chiefs of the pirates) were the ſon of Tigranes, king of Armenia, together with his wife and daughter; Zoſima, the wife of Tigranes, himſelf; Ariſtobulus, King of Judæa; the ſiſter of Mithridates, with her five ſons; and ſome Scythian women. The hoſtages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the king of Commagene alſo appeared in the train; and as many trophies were exhibited as Pompey had gained victories, either in perſon or by his lieutenants, the number of which was not ſmall.

But the moſt honourable circumſtance, and what no other Roman could boaſt, was, that his third triumph was over the third quarter of the world, after his

his former triumphs had been over the other two. Others before him had been honoured with three triumphs; but his firſt triumph was over Africa, his ſecond over Europe, and his third over Aſia; ſo that the three ſeemed to declare him conqueror of the world.

Thoſe who deſire to make the parallel between him and Alexander agree in all reſpects, tell us he was at this time not quite thirty-four, whereas in fact he was entering upon his * fortieth year. Happy had it been for him, if he had ended his days, while he was bleſt with Alexander's good fortune! The reſt of his life, every inſtance of ſucceſs brought its proportion of envy, and every miſcarriage was irretrievable. For, the authority which he had gained by his merit, he employed for others in a way not very honourable; and his reputation conſequently ſinking, as they grew in ſtrength, he was inſenſibly ruined by the weight of his own power. As it happens in a ſiege, every ſtrong work that is taken adds to the beſieger's force; ſo Cæſar, when raiſed by the influence of Pompey, turned that power which enabled him to trample upon his country, upon Pompey himſelf. It happened in this manner.

Lucullus, who had been treated ſo unworthily by Pompey in Aſia, upon his return to Rome met with the moſt honourable reception from the ſenate; and they gave him ſtill greater marks of their eſteem after the arrival of Pompey; endeavouring to awake his ambition, and prevail with him to attempt the lead in the adminiſtration. But his ſpirit and active powers were by this time on the decline; he had given himſelf up to the pleaſures of eaſe, and the enjoyments of wealth. However, he bore up againſt Pompey with ſome vigour at firſt, and got his acts confirmed, which

* It ſhould be forty-ſixth year. Pompey was born in the beginning of the month of Auguſt, in the year of Rome ſix hundred and forty-ſeven, and his triumph was in the ſame month in the year of Rome ſix hundred and ninety-two.

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his adverſary had annulled; having a majority in the ſenate, through the aſſiſtance of Cato.

Pompey, thus worſted in the ſenate, had recourſe to the tribunes of the people and to the young plebeians. Clodius, the moſt daring and profligate of them all, received him with open arms, but at the ſame time ſubjected him to all the humours of the populace. He made him dangle after him in the *forum* in a manner far beneath his dignity, and inſiſted upon his ſupporting every bill that he propoſed, and every ſpeech that he made, to flatter and ingratiate himſelf with the people. And, as if the connexion with him had been an honour, inſtead of a diſgrace, he demanded ſtill higher wages; that Pompey ſhould give up Cicero, who had ever been his faſt friend, and of the greateſt uſe to him in the adminiſtration. And theſe wages he obtained. For when Cicero came to be in danger, and requeſted Pompey's aſſiſtance, he refuſed to ſee him, and, ſhutting his gates againſt thoſe that came to intercede for him, went out at a back-door. Cicero, therefore, dreading the iſſue of the trial, departed privately from Rome.

At this * time Cæſar returning from his province, undertook an affair, which rendered him very popular at preſent, and in its conſequences gained him power, but proved a great prejudice to Pompey and to the whole commonwealth. He was then ſolliciting his firſt conſulſhip, and Craſſus and Pompey being at variance, he perceived that if he ſhould join the one, the other would be his enemy of courſe; he therefore ſet himſelf to reconcile them. A thing which ſeemed honourable in itſelf, and calculated for the public good; but the intention was inſidious, though deep laid and covered with the moſt refined policy. For while the power of the ſtate was divided, it kept it in

* It was not at the time of Cicero's going into exile that Cæſar returned from his province of Spain, which he had governed with the title of prætor, but two years before. Cæſar returned in the year of Rome 693, and Cicero quitted Rome in the year 695.

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an *equilibrium*, as the burthen of a ſhip properly diſtributed, keeps it from inclining to one ſide more than another; but when the power came to be all collected into one part, having nothing to counterbalance it, it overſet and deſtroyed the commonwealth. Hence it was, that when ſome were obſerving that the conſtitution was ruined by the difference which happened afterwards between Cæſar and Pompey, Cato ſaid, "You "are under a great miſtake: It was not their late diſ- "agreement, but their former union and connection "which gave the conſtitution the firſt and greateſt blow."

To this union Cæſar owed his conſulſhip: And he was no ſooner appointed, than he began to make his court to the indigent part of the people, by propoſing laws for ſending out colonies and for the diſtribution of lands; by which he deſcended from the dignity of a conſul, and in ſome ſort took upon him the office of a tribune. His collegue Bibulus oppoſed him, and Cato prepared to ſupport Bibulus in the moſt ſtrenuous manner; when Cæſar placed Pompey by him upon the tribunal, and aſked him, before the whole aſſembly, "Whether he approved his laws;" and upon his anſwering in the affirmative, he put this farther queſtion, "Then if any one ſhall with violence oppoſe theſe "laws, will you come to the aſſiſtance of the people." Pompey anſwered, "I will certainly come; and "againſt thoſe who threaten to take the ſword, I will "bring both ſword and buckler."

Pompey till that day had never ſaid any thing ſo obnoxious; and his friends could only ſay, by way of apology, that it was an expreſſion which had eſcaped him. But it appeared by the ſubſequent events, that he was then entirely at Cæſar's devotion. For within a few days, to the ſurprize of all the world, he married Julia, Cæſar's daughter, who had been promiſed to Cæpio, and was upon the point of being married to him. To appeaſe the reſentment of Cæpio, he gave him his own daughter, who had been before contracted to Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla; and Cæſar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piſo.

Pompey

Pompey then filled the city with ſoldiers, and carried every thing with open force. Upon Bibulus the conſul's making his appearance in the *forum*, together with Lucullus and Cato, the ſoldiers ſuddenly fell upon him, and broke his *faſces*. Nay, one of them had the impudence to empty a baſket of dung upon the head of Bibulus; and two tribunes of the people who accompanied him, were wounded. The *forum* thus cleared of all oppoſition, the law paſſed for the diviſion of lands. The people, caught by this bait, became tame and tractable in all reſpects, and without queſtioning the expediency of any of their meaſures, ſilently gave their ſuffrages to whatever was propoſed. The acts of Pompey, which Lucullus had conteſted, were confirmed; and the two Gauls on this and the other ſide the Alps and Illyria, were allotted to Cæſar for five years, with four complete legions. At the ſame time Piſo, Cæſar's father-in-law, and Gabinius, one of the moſt abandoned flatterers of Pompey, were pitched upon for conſuls for the enſuing year.

Bibulus finding matters thus carried, ſhut himſelf up in his houſe, and for the eight following months remained inattentive to the functions of his office *; contenting himſelf with publiſhing manifeſtoes full of bitter invectives againſt Pompey and Cæſar. Cato, on this occaſion, as if inſpired with a ſpirit of prophecy, announced in full ſenate the calamities which would befall the commonwealth and Pompey himſelf. Lucullus, for his part, gave up all thoughts of ſtate affairs, and betook himſelf to repoſe, as if age had diſqualified him for the concerns of government. Upon which Pompey obſerved, "That it was more unſeaſonable for an old man to give himſelf up to luxury, than to bear a public employment." Yet, notwithſtanding this obſervation, he ſoon ſuffered himſelf to be effeminated by the love of a young woman;

* Hence the wits of Rome, inſtead of ſaying, ſuch a thing happened in the conſulſhip of Cæſar and Bibulus, ſaid, it happened in the conſulſhip of Julius and Cæſar.

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he gave up his time to her; he ſpent the day with her in his villas and gardens, to the entire neglect of public affairs; inſomuch that Clodius the tribune began to deſpiſe him, and to engage in the boldeſt deſigns againſt him. For after he had baniſhed Cicero, and ſent Cato to Cyprus, under pretence of giving him the command in that iſland; when Cæſar was gone upon his expedition into Gaul, and the tribune found the people entirely devoted to him, becauſe he flattered their inclinations in all the meaſures he took, he attempted to annul ſome of Pompey's ordinances; he took his priſoner Tigranes from him, kept him in his own cuſtody, and impeached ſome of his friends, in order to try in them the ſtrength of Pompey's intereſt. At laſt, when Pompey appeared againſt one of theſe proſecutions, Clodius having a crew of profligate and inſolent wretches about him, aſcended an eminence, and put the following queſtions, "Who is the licen-"tious lord of Rome? Who is the man that ſeeks "for a man*? Who ſcratches his head with one "finger †?" And his creatures, like a chorus inſtructed in their part, upon his ſhaking his gown, anſwered aloud to every queſtion, *Pompey* ‡.

Theſe things gave Pompey uneaſineſs, becauſe it was a new thing to him to be ſpoken ill of, and he was entirely unexperienced in that ſort of war. That which afflicted him moſt, was his perceiving that the ſenate were pleaſed to ſee him the object of reproach,

* Τις ανηρ ζητει ανδρα. Ζητειν ανδρα was a proverbial expreſſion brought from Athens to Rome. It was taken originally from Æſop's ſeeking an honeſt man with a lanthorn at noon-day; and, by degrees, it came to ſignify the loſs of manhood, or the manly character, which loſs Pompey was allowed to have ſuſtained in the embraces of Julia.

† *Uno ſcalpere Digito* was likewiſe a proverbial expreſſion for a Roman *petit maitre*.

‡ Plutarch does not here keep exactly to the order of time. This happened in the year of Rome 697, as appears from Dio, (Book xxxix.) that is, two years after what he is going to mention concerning that tribune's ſlave being taken with a ſword.

and

and puniſhed for his deſertion of Cicero. But when parties ran ſo high that they came to blows in the *forum*, and ſeveral were wounded on both ſides, and one of the ſervants of Clodius was obſerved to creep in among the crowd, towards Pompey, with a drawn ſword in his hand; he was furniſhed with an excuſe for not attending the public aſſemblies. Beſides, he was really afraid to ſtand the impudence of Clodius, and all the torrent of abuſe that might be expected from him, and therefore made his appearance no more during his tribuneſhip, but conſulted in private with his friends how to diſarm the anger of the ſenate, and the valuable part of the citizens. Culleo adviſed him to repudiate Julia, and to exchange the friendſhip of Cæſar for that of the ſenate; but he would not hearken to the propoſal. Others propoſed that he ſhould recall Cicero, who was not only an avowed enemy to Clodius, but the favourite of the ſenate; and he agreed to that overture. Accordingly, with a ſtrong body of his retainers, he conducted Cicero's brother into the *forum*, who was to apply to the people in his behalf, and after a ſcuffle, in which ſeveral were wounded, and ſome ſlain, he overpowered Clodius, and obtained a decree for the reſtoration of Cicero. Immediately upon his return, the orator reconciled the ſenate to Pompey, and by effectually recommending the law which was to entruſt him with the care of ſupplying Rome with corn *, he made Pompey once more maſter of the Roman empire, both by ſea and land. For by this law, the ports, the markets, the diſpoſal of proviſions, in a word, the whole buſineſs of the merchant and the huſbandman, were brought under his juriſdiction.

Clodius, on the other hand, alleged, "That the law "was not made on account of the real ſcarcity of pro- "viſions, but that an artificial ſcarcity was cauſed for

* This law alſo gave Pompey proconſular authority for five years, both in and out of Italy. Dio, *lib.* xxxix.

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"the ſake of procuring the law, and that Pompey, by "a new commiſſion, might bring his power to life "again, which was ſunk, as it were, in a *deliquium*." Others ſay, it was the contrivance of the conſul Spinther, to procure Pompey a ſuperior employment, that he might himſelf be ſent to re-eſtabliſh *Ptolemy in his kingdom.

However, the tribune Canidius brought in a bill, the purport of which was, that Pompey ſhould be ſent without an army, and only with two *lictors*, to reconcile the Alexandrians to their king. Pompey did not appear diſpleaſed at the bill; but the ſenate threw it out, under the honourable pretence of not hazarding his perſon. Nevertheleſs, papers were found ſcattered in the *forum* and before the ſenate-houſe, importing that Ptolemy himſelf deſired that Pompey might be employed to act for him inſtead of Spinther. Timagenes pretends, that Ptolemy left Ægypt without any neceſſity, at the perſuaſion of Theophanes, who was deſirous to give Pompey new occaſions to enrich himſelf and the honour of new commands. But the baſeneſs of Theophanes does not ſo much ſupport this ſtory, as the diſpoſition of Pompey diſcredits it; for there was nothing ſo mean and illiberal in his ambition.

The whole care of providing and importing corn being committed to Pompey, he ſent his deputies and agents into various parts, and went in perſon into Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, where he collected great quantities. When he was upon the point of re-embarking, a violent wind ſprung up, and the mariners made a difficulty of putting to ſea; but he was the firſt to go on board, and he ordered them to weigh anchor, with theſe deciſive words, "It is neceſſary to go; it is "not neceſſary to live." His ſucceſs was anſwerable to his ſpirit annd intrepidity. He filled the markets with

* Ptolemy Auletes, the ſon of Ptolemy Lathyrus, hated by his ſubjects, and forced to fly, applied to the conſul Spinther, who was to have the province of Cilicia, to re-eſtabliſh him in his kingdom. Dio, *ubi ſupra.*

corn

corn, and covered the ſea with his ſhips; inſomuch that the overplus afforded a ſupply to foreigners, and from Rome, as from a fountain, plenty flowed over the world.

In the mean time the wars in Gaul lifted Cæſar to the firſt ſphere of greatneſs. The ſcene of action was at a great diſtance from Rome, and he ſeemed to be wholly engaged with the Belgæ, the Suevi, and the Britons; but his genius all the while was privately at work among the people of Rome, and he was undermining Pompey in his moſt eſſential intereſts. His war with the Barbarians was not his principal object. He exerciſed his army, indeed, in thoſe expeditions, as he would have done his own body, in hunting and other diverſions of the field; by which he prepared them for higher conflicts, and rendered them not only formidable but invincible.

The gold and ſilver, and other rich ſpoils which he took from the enemy in great abundance, he ſent to Rome; and by diſtributing them freely among the ædiles, prætors, conſuls, and their wives, he gained a great party. Conſequently when he paſſed the Alps and wintered at Lucca, among the crowd of men and women, who haſtened to pay their reſpects to him, there were two hundred ſenators, Pompey and Craſſus of the number; and there were no fewer than a hundred and twenty proconſuls and prætors, whoſe *faſces* were to be ſeen at the gates of Cæſar. He made it his buſineſs in general to give them hopes of great things, and his money was at their devotion; but he entered into a treaty with Craſſus and Pompey, by which it was agreed that they ſhould apply for the conſulſhip, and that Cæſar ſhould aſſiſt them by ſending a great number of his ſoldiers to vote at the election. As ſoon as they were choſen, they were to ſhare the provinces, and take the command of armies, according to their pleaſure, only confirming Cæſar in the poſſeſſion of what he had, for five years more.

As ſoon as this treaty got air, the principal perſons in Rome were highly offended at it. Marcellinus, then conſul, planted himſelf amidſt the people, and aſked Pompey and Craſſus, "Whether they intended "to ſtand for the conſulſhip." Pompey ſpoke firſt, and ſaid, * "Perhaps he might, perhaps he might "not." Craſſus anſwered, with more moderation, "He ſhould do what might appear moſt expedient for "the commonwealth." As Marcellinus continued the diſcourſe againſt Pompey, and ſeemed to bear hard upon him, Pompey ſaid, "Where is the honour of "that man, who has neither gratitude nor reſpect for "him who made him an orator, who reſcued him "from want, and raiſed him to affluence?"

Others declined ſolliciting the conſulſhip, but Lucius Domitius was perſuaded and encouraged by Cato not to give it up. "For the diſpute," he told him, "was "not for the conſulſhip, but in defence of liberty "againſt tyrants." Pompey and his adherents ſaw the vigour with which Cato acted, and that all the ſenate was on his ſide. Conſequently they were afraid that, ſo ſupported, he might bring over the uncorrupted part of the people. They reſolved, therefore, not to ſuffer Domitius to enter the *forum*, and ſent a party of men well-armed, who killed Melitus, the torch-bearer, and put the reſt to flight. Cato retired the laſt, and not till after he had received a wound in his right elbow in defending Domitius.

Thus they obtained the conſulſhip by violence, and the reſt of their meaſures were not conducted with more moderation. For, in the firſt place, when the people were going to chuſe Cato prætor, at the inſtant their ſuffrages were to be taken, Pompey diſmiſſed the aſſembly, pretending he had ſeen an inauſpicious

* Dio makes him return an anſwer more ſuitable to his character—"It is not on account of the virtuous and the good that "I deſire any ſhare in the magiſtracy, but that I may be able to "reſtrain the ill-diſpoſed and the ſeditious."

flight.

flight of birds *. Afterwards the tribes, corrupted with money, declared Antias and Vatinius prætors. Then, in purſuance of their agreement with Cæſar, they put Trebonius, one of the tribunes, on propoſing a decree, by which the government of the Gauls was continued for five years more to Cæſar; Syria, and the command againſt the Parthians, were given to Craſſus; and Pompey was to have all Africa, and both the Spains, with four legions, two of which he lent to Cæſar, at his requeſt, for the war in Gaul.

Craſſus, upon the expiration of his conſulſhip, repaired to his province. Pompey remaining at Rome, opened his theatre; and, to make the dedication more magnificent, exhibited a variety of gymnaſtic games, entertainments of muſic, and battles with wild beaſts, in which were killed five hundred lions; but the battle of † elephants afforded the moſt aſtoniſhing ſpectacle. Theſe things gained him the love and admiration of the public; but he incurred their diſpleaſure again, by leaving his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants, and roving about Italy with his wife from one villa to another. Whether it was his paſſion for her, or her's for him, that kept him ſo much with her, is uncertain. For the latter has been ſuppoſed to be the caſe, and nothing was more talked of than the fondneſs of that young woman for her huſband, though at that age his perſon could hardly be any great object of deſire. But the charm of his fidelity was the cauſe,

* This was making religion merely an engine of ſtate, and it often proved a very convenient one for the purpoſes of ambition. Clodius, though otherwiſe one of the vileſt tribunes that ever exiſted, was very right in attempting to put a ſtop to that means of diſmiſſing an aſſembly. He preferred a bill, that no magiſtrate ſhould make any obſervations in the heavens while the people were aſſembled.

† Dio ſays, the elephants fought with armed men. There were no leſs than eighteen of them; and he adds, that ſome of them ſeemed to appeal, with piteous cries, to the people; who, in compaſſion, ſaved their lives. If we may believe him, an oath had been taken before they left Africa, that no injury ſhould be done them.

together with his converſation, which, notwithſtanding his natural gravity, was particularly agreeable to the women, if we may allow the courtezan Flora to be a ſufficient evidence. This ſtrong attachment of Julia appeared on occaſion of an election of Ædiles. The people came to blows, and ſome were killed ſo near Pompey, that he was covered with blood, and forced to change his clothes. There was a great crowd and tumult about his door, when his ſervants went home with the bloody robe; and Julia, who was with child, happening to ſee it, fainted away, and was with difficulty recovered. However, ſuch was her terror and the agitation of her ſpirits, that ſhe miſcarried. After this, thoſe who complained moſt of Pompey's connection with Cæſar, could not find fault with his love of Julia. She was pregnant afterwards, and brought him a daughter, but unfortunately died in child-bed; nor did the child long ſurvive her. Pompey was preparing to bury her near a ſeat of his at Alba, but the people ſeized the corps, and interred it in the *Campus Martius*. This they did more out of regard to the young woman, than either to Pompey or Cæſar; yet in the honours they did her remains, their attachment to Cæſar, though at a diſtance, had a greater ſhare, than any reſpect for Pompey, who was on the ſpot.

Immediately after Julia's death, the people of Rome were in great agitation, and there was nothing in their ſpeeches and actions which did not tend to a rupture. The alliance, which rather covered than reſtrained the ambition of the two great competitors for power, was now no more. To add to the misfortune, news was brought ſoon after, that Craſſus was ſlain by the Parthians; and in him another great obſtacle to a civil war was removed. Out of fear of him, they had both kept ſome meaſures with each other. But when fortune had carried off the champion who could take up the conqueror, we may ſay with the comic poet,

——— *High*

——— *High ſpirit of emprize*
Elates each chief; they oil their brawny limbs,
And dip their hands in duſt. ———

So little able is Fortune to fill the capacities of the human mind; when ſuch a *weight of power, and extent of command, could not ſatisfy the ambition of two men. They had heard and † read that the gods had divided the univerſe into three ſhares, and each was content with that which fell to his lot, and yet theſe men could not think the Roman empire ſufficient for two of them.

Yet Pompey, in an addreſs to the people at that time, told them, "He had received every commiſſion "they had honoured him with, ſooner than he ex- "pected himſelf, and laid it down ſooner than was "expected by the world." And, indeed, the diſmiſſion of his troops always bore witneſs to the truth of that aſſertion. But now being perſuaded that Cæſar would not diſband his army, he endeavoured to fortify himſelf againſt him by great employments at home; and this without attempting any other innovation. For he would not appear to diſtruſt him; on the contrary, he rather affected to deſpiſe him. However, when he ſaw the great offices of ſtate not diſpoſed of agreeably to his deſire, but that the people were influenced, and his adverſaries preferred for money, he thought it would beſt ſerve his cauſe to ſuffer anarchy

* *Weight* is not the literal ſignification of βαθος, but as near as we could bring it; for, depth of power would not ſound well in Engliſh. Τοσουτον βαθος ἀγχμονιας is an expreſſion ſimilar to that of St. Paul, Rom. xi. 33. Ὡ ΒΑΘΟΣ πλουτου και σοφιας και γνωσεως Θεου.

† Plutarch alludes here to a paſſage in the fifteenth book of the Iliad, where Neptune ſays to Iris,

"Aſſign'd by lot our triple rule we know;
"Infernal Pluto ſways the ſhades below;
"O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the ſtarry plain,
"Etherial Jove extends his high domain:
"My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
"And huſh the roarings of the ſacred deep."

POPE.

to prevail. In conſequence of the reigning diſorders a dictator was much talked of. Lucilius, one of the tribunes, was the firſt who ventured to propoſe it in form to the people, and he exhorted them to chuſe Pompey dictator. Cato oppoſed it ſo effectually, that the tribune was in danger of being depoſed. Many of Pompey's friends then ſtood up in defence of the purity of his intentions, and declared, he neither aſked nor wiſhed for the dictatorſhip. Cato, upon this, paid the higheſt compliments to Pompey, and intreated him to aſſiſt in the ſupport of order and of the conſtitution. Pompey could not but accede to ſuch a propoſal, and Domitius and Meſſala were elected conſuls *.

The ſame anarchy and confuſion afterwards took place again, and numbers began to talk more boldly of ſetting up a dictator. Cato, now fearing he ſhould be overborne, was of opinion that it was better to give Pompey ſome office whoſe authority was limited by law, than to entruſt him with abſolute power. Bibulus, though Pompey's declared enemy, moved in full ſenate, that he ſhould be appointed ſole conſul. "For, by that means," ſaid he, "the commonwealth "will either recover from her diſorder, or, if ſhe muſt "ſerve, will ſerve a man of the greateſt merit." The whole houſe was ſurpriſed at the motion; and when Cato roſe up, it was expected he would oppoſe it. A profound ſilence enſued, and he ſaid, "He ſhould never "have been the firſt to propoſe ſuch an expedient, "but as it was propoſed by another, he thought "it adviſeable to embrace it; for he thought any "kind of government better than anarchy, and

* In the year of Rome 700. Such corruption now prevailed among the Romans, that candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where they diſtributed it, without bluſhing, among the heads of factions; and thoſe who received it, employed force and violence in favour of the perſons who paid them: ſo that ſcarce any office was diſpoſed of, but what had been diſputed with the ſword, and had coſt the lives of many citizens.

"knew

"knew no man fitter to rule than Pompey, in a time "of ſo much trouble." The ſenate came into his opinion, and a decree was iſſued, that Pompey ſhould be appointed ſole conſul, and that if he ſhould have need of a collegue, he might chuſe one himſelf, provided it were not before the expiration of two months.

Pompey being declared ſole conſul by the *Interrex* Sulpitius, made his compliments to Cato, acknowledged himſelf much indebted to his ſupport, and deſired his aſſiſtance and advice in the cabinet, as to the meaſures to be purſued in his adminiſtration. Cato made anſwer, "That Pompey was not under the leaſt obliga- "tion to him; for what he had ſaid, was not out of "regard to him, but to his country. If you apply to "me," continued he, "I ſhall give you my advice "in private; if not, I ſhall inform you of my ſenti- "ments in public." Such was Cato, and the ſame on all occaſions.

Pompey then went into the city, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio *. She was not a virgin, but a widow, having been married, when very young, to Publius, the ſon of Craſſus, who was lately killed in the Parthian expedition. This woman had many charms beſide her beauty. She was well verſed in polite literature; ſhe played upon the lyre, and underſtood geometry; and ſhe had made conſiderable improvement by the precepts of philoſophy. What is more, ſhe had nothing of that petulance and affectation, which ſuch ſtudies are apt to produce in women of her age. And her father's family and reputation were unexceptionable.

Many, however, were diſpleaſed with this match, on account of the diſproportion of years; they thought Cornelia would have been more ſuitable to his ſon than to him. Thoſe that were capable of deeper reflection, thought the concerns of the commonwealth neglected,

* The ſon of Scipio Naſica, but adopted into the family of the Metelli.

which in a diſtreſsful caſe had choſen him for its phyſician, and confided in him alone. It grieved them to ſee him crowned with garlands, and offering ſacrifice amidſt the feſtivities of marriage, when he ought to have conſidered his conſulſhip as a public calamity, ſince it would never have been given him in a manner ſo contrary to the laws, had his country been in a proſperous ſituation.

His firſt ſtep was to bring thoſe to account who gained offices and employments by bribery and corruption, and he made laws by which the proceedings in their trials were to be regulated. In other reſpects he behaved with great dignity and honour; and reſtored ſecurity, order and tranquillity, to the courts of judicature, by preſiding there in perſon with a band of ſoldiers. But when Scipio, his father-in-law, came to be impeached, he ſent for the three hundred and ſixty judges to his houſe, and deſired their aſſiſtance. The accuſer ſeeing Scipio conducted out of the *forum* to his houſe, by the judges themſelves, dropped the proſecution. This again expoſed Pompey to cenſure; but he was cenſured ſtill more, when, after having made a law againſt encomiums on perſons accuſed, he broke it himſelf, by appearing for Plancus, and attempting to embelliſh his character. Cato, who happened to be one of the judges, ſtopped his ears; declaring, "It was not right for him to hear ſuch em-"belliſhments, contrary to law." Cato, therefore, was objected to and ſet aſide before ſentence was paſſed. Plancus, however, was * condemned by the other judges, to the great confuſion of Pompey.

A few days after, Hypſæus, a man of conſular dignity, being under a criminal proſecution, watched Pompey's going from the bath to ſupper, and embraced his knees in the moſt ſuppliant manner. But Pompey paſſed him with diſdain, and all the anſwer

* Cicero, who managed the impeachment, was much delighted with the ſucceſs of his eloquence; as appears from his epiſtle to Marius, lib. vii. ep. 2.

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he gave him, was, "That his importunities ſerved "only to ſpoil his ſupper." This partial and unequal behaviour was juſtly the object of reproach. But all the reſt of his conduct merited praiſe, and he had the happineſs to re-eſtabliſh good order in the commonwealth. He took his father-in-law for his collegue the remaining five months. His governments were continued to him for four years more, and he was allowed a thouſand talents a year for the ſubſiſtence and pay of his troops.

Cæſar's friends laid hold on this occaſion to repreſent, that ſome conſideration ſhould be had of him, too, and his many great and laborious ſervices for his country. They ſaid, he certainly deſerved either another conſulſhip, or to have the term of his commiſſion prolonged; that he might keep the command in the provinces he had conquered, and enjoy undiſturbed the honours he had won, and that no ſucceſſor might rob him of the fruit of his labours, or the glory of his actions. A diſpute ariſing upon the affair, Pompey, as if inclined to fence againſt the odium to which Cæſar might be expoſed by this demand, ſaid, he had letters from Cæſar, in which he declared himſelf willing to accept a ſucceſſor, and to give up the command in Gaul; only he thought it reaſonable that he ſhould be permitted, though abſent, to ſtand for the conſulſhip *. Cato oppoſed this with all his force, and inſiſted, "That Cæſar ſhould lay down his arms, and "return as a private man, if he had any favour to "aſk of his country." And as Pompey did not labour the point, but eaſily acquieſced, it was ſuſpected he had no real friendſhip for Cæſar. This appeared more clearly, when he ſent for the two legions which he had lent him, under pretence of wanting them for the Parthian war. Cæſar, though he well knew for

* There was a law againſt any abſent perſon's being admitted a candidate; but Pompey had added a clauſe which impowered the people to except any man by name from perſonal attendance.

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what purpoſe the legions were demanded, ſent them home laden with rich preſents.

After this, Pompey had a dangerous illneſs at Naples, of which, however, he recovered. Praxagoras then adviſed the Neapolitans to offer ſacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for his recovery. The neighbouring cities followed their example; and the humour ſpreading itſelf over Italy, there was not a town, or village, which did not ſolemnize the occaſion with feſtivals. No place could afford room for the crowds that came in from all quarters to meet him; the high-roads, the villages, the ports were filled with ſacrifices and entertainments. Many received him with garlands on their heads and torches in their hands, and, as they conducted him on his way, ſtrewed it with flowers. His returning with ſuch pomp, afforded a glorious ſpectacle; but it is ſaid to have been one of the principal cauſes of the civil war. For the joy he conceived on this occaſion, added to the high opinion he had of his atchievements, intoxicated him ſo far, that, bidding adieu to the caution and prudence which had put his good fortune and the glory of his actions upon a ſure footing, he gave into the moſt extravagant preſumption, and even contempt of Cæſar; inſomuch, that he declared, "He had no "need of arms, or any extraordinary preparations "againſt him, ſince he could pull him down with "much more eaſe than he had ſet him up."

Beſides, when Appius returned from Gaul with the legions which had been lent to Cæſar, he endeavoured to diſparage the actions of that general, and to repreſent him in a mean light. "Pompey, he ſaid, knew "not his own ſtrength and the influence of his name, "if he ſought any other defence againſt Cæſar, upon "whom his own forces would turn, as ſoon as they "ſaw the former; ſuch was their hatred of the one, "and their affection for the other."

Pompey was ſo much elated at this account, and his confidence made him ſo extremely negligent, that he laughed

laughed at thoſe who ſeemed to fear the war. And when they ſaid, that if Cæſar ſhould advance in a hoſtile manner to Rome, they did not ſee what forces they had to oppoſe him, he bade them, with an open and ſmiling countenance, give themſelves no pain: "For, "if in Italy," ſaid he, "I do but ſtamp upon the "ground, an army will appear."

Meantime Cæſar was exerting himſelf greatly. He was now at no great diſtance from Italy, and not only ſent his ſoldiers to vote in the elections, but, by private pecuniary applications, corrupted many of the magiſtrates. Paulus the Conſul, was of the number, and he had *fifteen hundred talents for changing ſides. So were alſo Curio, one of the Tribunes of the people, for whom he paid off an immenſe debt, and Mark Antony, who, out of friendſhip for Curio, had ſtood engaged with him for the debt.

It is ſaid, that when one of Cæſar's officers, who ſtood before the ſenate-houſe, waiting the iſſue of the debates, was informed, that they would not give Cæſar a longer term in his command, he laid his hand upon his ſword, and ſaid, "But this ſhall give it."

Indeed, all the actions and preparations of his general tended that way: Though Curio's demands in behalf of Cæſar ſeemed more plauſible. He propoſed, that either Pompey ſhould likewiſe be obliged to diſmiſs his forces, or Cæſar ſuffered to keep his. "If "they are both reduced to a private ſtation," ſaid he, "they will agree upon reaſonable terms; or, if each "retains his reſpective power, they will be ſatisfied. "But he who weakens the one, without doing the ſame "by the other, muſt double that force which he fears "will ſubvert the government†."

* 310,625 *l.* ſterling. With this money he built the ſtately *Baſilica*, that afterwards bore his name.

† Cornelius Scipio, one of Pompey's friends, remonſtrated, that, in the preſent caſe, a great difference was to be made between the proconſul of Spain and the proconſul of Gaul, ſince the term of the former was not expired, whereas that of the latter was.

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Hereupon, Marcellus the conſul called Cæſar a public robber, and inſiſted, that he ſhould be declared an enemy to the ſtate, if he did not lay down his arms. However, Curio, together with Antony and Piſo, prevailed that a farther enquiry ſhould be made into the ſenſe of the ſenate. He firſt propoſed, that ſuch as were of opinion, "That Cæſar ſhould diſband his "army, and Pompey keep his," ſhould draw to one ſide of the houſe, and there appeared a majority for that motion. Then he propoſed, that the number of thoſe ſhould be taken, whoſe ſenſe it was, "That both "ſhould lay down their arms, and neither remain in "command;" upon which queſtion, Pompey had only twenty-two, and Curio all the reſt *. Curio, proud of his victory, ran in tranſports of joy to the aſſembly of the people, who received him with the loudeſt plaudits, and crowned him with flowers. Pompey was not preſent at the debate in the houſe; for the commander of an army is not allowed to enter the city. But Marcellus roſe up, and ſaid, "I will no longer ſit to hear "the matter canvaſſed; but, as I ſee ten legions have "already paſſed the Alps, I will ſend a man to oppoſe "them in behalf of my country."

Upon this, the city went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. Marcellus walked through the *forum*, followed by the ſenate, and when he was in ſight of Pompey without the gate, he ſaid, "Pompey, "I charge you to aſſiſt your country; for which pur- "poſe you ſhall make uſe of the troops you have, and "levy what new ones you pleaſe." Lentulus, one of the conſuls elect for the next year, ſaid the ſame. But when Pompey came to make the new levies, ſome abſolutely refuſed to enliſt; others gave in their names in ſmall numbers and with no ſpirit; and the greateſt part cried out, "A peace! A peace!" For Antony, notwithſtanding the injunctions of the ſenate to the

* Dio, on the contrary, affirms that, upon this queſtion, the ſenate were almoſt unanimous for Pompey; only two voting for Cæſar, viz. Marcus Cæcilius and Curio.

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contrary, had read a letter of Cæſar's to the people, well calculated to gain them. He propoſed, that both Pompey and he ſhould reſign their governments and diſmiſs their forces, and then come and give account of their conduct to the people.

Lentulus, who by this time had entered upon his office, would not aſſemble the ſenate; for Cicero, who was now returned from his government in Cilicia, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation. He propoſed, that Cæſar ſhould give up Gaul, and diſband the greateſt part of his army, and keeping only two legions and the province of Illyricum, wait for another conſulſhip. As Pompey received this propoſal very ill, Cæſar's friends were perſuaded to agree, that he ſhould keep only one of thoſe two legions. But Lentulus was againſt it, and Cato cried out, "That "Pompey was committing a ſecond error, in ſuffering "himſelf to be ſo impoſed upon;" the reconciliation, therefore, did not take effect.

At the ſame time news was brought, that Cæſar had ſeized Ariminum, a conſiderable city in Italy, and that he was marching directly towards Rome with all his forces. The laſt circumſtance, indeed, was not true. He advanced with only three hundred horſe and five thouſand foot; the reſt of his forces were on the other ſide the Alps, and he would not wait for them, chuſing rather to put his adverſaries in confuſion by a ſudden, and unexpected attack, than to fight them when better prepared. When he came to the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he ſtood ſilent a long time, weighing with himſelf the greatneſs of his enterprize. At laſt, like one who plunges down from the top of a precipice into a gulph of immenſe depth, he ſilenced his reaſon, and ſhut his eyes againſt the danger; and crying out, in the Greek language, "The die is caſt," he marched over with his army.

Upon the firſt report of this at Rome, the city was in greater diſorder and aſtoniſhment than had ever been known. The ſenate and the magiſtrates ran immediately

ately to Pompey. Tullus * aſked him, what forces he had ready for the war; and as he heſitated in his anſwer, and only ſaid at laſt, in a tone of no great aſſurance, "That he had the two legions lately ſent "him back by Cæſar, and that out of the new levies "he believed he ſhould ſhortly be able to make up a "body of thirty thouſand men;" Tullus exclaimed, "O Pompey, you have deceived us!" and gave it as his opinion, that Ambaſſadors ſhould immediately be diſpatched to Cæſar. Then one Favonius, a man otherwiſe of no ill character, but who, by an inſolent brutality, affected to imitate the noble freedom of Cato, bade Pompey "ſtamp upon the ground, and "call forth the armies he had promiſed."

Pompey bore this ill-timed reproach with great mildneſs; and when Cato put him in mind of the warnings he had given him, as to Cæſar, from the firſt, he ſaid, "Cato, indeed, had ſpoken more like a prophet, and *he* "had acted more like a friend." Cato then adviſed that Pompey ſhould not only be appointed general, but inveſted with a diſcretionary power; adding, that "thoſe who were the authors of great evils, knew beſt "how to cure them." So ſaying, he ſet out for his province of Sicily, and the other great officers departed for theirs.

Almoſt all Italy was now in motion, and nothing could be more perplexed than the whole face of things. Thoſe who lived out of Rome, fled to it from all quarters, and thoſe who lived in it, abandoned it as faſt. Theſe ſaw, that in ſuch a tempeſtuous and diſorderly ſtate of affairs, the well-diſpoſed part of the city wanted ſtrength, and that the ill-diſpoſed were ſo refractory that they could not be managed by the magiſtrates. The terrors of the people could not be removed, and no one would ſuffer Pompey to lay a plan of action for himſelf. According to the paſſion wherewith each was actuated, whether fear, ſorrow, or

* Lucius Volcatius Tullus.

doubt,

doubt, they endeavered to inſpire him with the ſame; inſomuch that he adopted different meaſures the ſame day. He could gain no certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, becauſe every man brought him the report he happened to take up, and was angry if it did not meet with credit.

Pompey, at laſt, cauſed it to be declared by an edict in form, that the commonwealth was in danger, and no peace to be expected *. After which, he ſignified that he ſhould look upon thoſe who remained in the city as the partizans of Cæſar; and then quitted it in the duſk of the evening. The conſuls alſo fled, without offering the ſacrifices which their cuſtoms required before a war. However, in this great extremity, Pompey could not but be conſidered as happy in the affections of his countrymen. Though many blamed the war, there was not a man who hated the general. Nay, the number of thoſe who followed him, out of attachment to his perſon, was greater than that of the adventurers in the cauſe of liberty.

A few days after, Cæſar arrived at Rome. When he was in poſſeſſion of the city, he behaved with great moderation in many reſpects, and compoſed, in a good meaſure, the minds of its remaining inhabitants. Only when Metellus, one of the tribunes of the people, forbad him to touch the money in the public treaſury, he threatened him with death, adding an expreſſion more terrible than the threat itſelf, "That it was "eaſier for him to do it than to ſay it." Metellus being thus frightened off, took what ſums he wanted, and then went in purſuit of Pompey; haſtening to drive him out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain.

* The Latin word, *tumultus*, which Plutarch has rendered ταραχη, is a very comprehenſive one. The Romans did not care to call the commotions which happened among them, or near them, before direct hoſtilities were commenced, by the name of war; they diſtinguiſhed them by the name of *tumultus*.

Pompey,

Pompey, who was maſter of Brunduſium, and had a ſufficient number of tranſports, deſired the conſuls to embark without loſs of time, and ſent them before him with thirty cohorts to Dyrrachium. At the ſame time he ſent his father-in-law Scipio and his ſon Cnæus into Syria, to provide ſhips of war. He had well ſecured the gates of the city, and planted the lighteſt of his ſlingers and archers upon the walls; and having now ordered the Brunduſians to keep within doors, he cauſed a number of trenches to be cut, and ſharp ſtakes to be driven into them, and then covered with earth, in all the ſtreets, except two which led down to the ſea. In three days all his other troops were embarked without interruption; and then he ſuddenly gave the ſignal to thoſe who guarded the walls; in conſequence of which, they ran ſwiftly down to the harbour, and got on board. Thus having his whole complement, he ſet ſail, and croſſed the ſea to Dyrrachium.

* When Cæſar came and ſaw the walls left deſtitute of defence, he concluded that Pompey had taken to flight, and, in his eagerneſs to purſue, would certainly have fallen upon the ſharp ſtakes in the trenches, had not the Brunduſians informed him of them. He then † avoided the ſtreets, and took a circuit round the town, by which he diſcovered that all the veſſels were ſet out, except two that had not many ſoldiers aboard.

This manœuvre of Pompey was commonly reckoned among the greateſt acts of generalſhip. Cæſar, however, could not help wondering, that his adverſary, who was in poſſeſſion of a fortified town, and expected his forces from Spain, and at the ſame time was maſter of the ſea, ſhould give up Italy in ſuch a manner.

* Cæſar beſieged the place nine days, during which he not only inveſted it on the land-ſide, but undertook to ſhut up the port by a *ſtaccado* of his own invention. However, before the work could be compleated, Pompey made his eſcape.

† Φυλαττόμενος τὴν πόλιν, καὶ κυκλῳ περιών, perhaps means, "That "he avoided the principal ſtreets, and came by many windings "and turnings to the haven."

Cicero,

Cicero*, too, blamed him, for imitating the conduct of Themiſtocles, rather than that of Pericles, when the poſture of his affairs more reſembled the circumſtances of the latter. On the other hand, the ſteps which Cæſar took ſhewed he was afraid of having the war drawn out to any length: For having taken †Numerius, a friend of Pompey's, he had ſent him to Brunduſium, with offers of coming to an accommodation upon reaſonable terms. But Numerius, inſtead of returning with an anſwer, ſailed away with Pompey.

Cæſar thus made himſelf maſter of all Italy in ſixty days without the leaſt bloodſhed, and he would have been glad to have gone immediately in purſuit of Pompey. But as he was in want of ſhipping, he gave up that deſign for the preſent, and marched to Spain, with an intent to gain the forces there.

In the mean time Pompey aſſembled a great army; and at ſea he was altogether invincible. For he had five hundred ſhips of war, and the number of his lighter veſſels was ſtill greater. As for his land-forces, he had ſeven thouſand horſe, the flower of ‡Rome and Italy, all men of family, fortune, and courage. His infantry, though numerous, was a mixture of raw, undiſciplined ſoldiers: He therefore exerciſed them during his ſtay at Berœa, where he was by no means idle, but went through all the exerciſes of a ſoldier, as if he had been in the flower of his age. It inſpired his troops with new courage, when they ſaw Pompey the Great, at the age of fifty-eight, going through the whole military diſcipline, in heavy armour, on foot;

* Ep. to Atticus, vii. 11.

† Cæſar calls him *Cn. Magius*. He was maſter of Pompey's board of works.

‡ Cæſar, on the contrary, ſays, that this body of horſe was almoſt entirely compoſed of ſtrangers. "There were ſix hundred "Galatians, five hundred Cappadocians, as many Thracians, "two hundred Macedonians, five hundred Gauls, or Germans, "eight hundred raiſed out of his own eſtates, or out of his reti-"nue;" and ſo of the reſt, whom he particularly mentions, and tells us to what countries they belonged.

and then mounting his horſe, drawing his ſword with eaſe when at full ſpeed, and as dextrouſly ſheathing it again. As to the javelin, he threw it not only with great exactneſs, but with ſuch force, that few of the young men could dart it to a greater diſtance.

Many kings and princes repaired to his camp, and the number of Roman officers who had commanded armies was ſo great, that it was ſufficient to make up a compleat ſenate. Labienus*, who had been honoured with Cæſar's friendſhip, and ſerved under him in Gaul, now joined Pompey. Even Brutus, the ſon of that Brutus who was killed by him not very fairly in the Ciſalpine Gaul†; a man of ſpirit, who had never ſpoken to Pompey before, becauſe he conſidered him as the murderer of his father, now ranged himſelf under his banners, as the defender of the liberties of his country. Cicero too, though he had written and adviſed otherwiſe, was aſhamed not to appear in the number of thoſe who hazarded their lives for Rome. Tidius Sextius, though extremely old, and maimed of one leg, repaired, among the reſt, to his ſtandard in Macedonia; and though others only laughed at the poor appearance he made, Pompey no ſooner caſt his eyes upon him, than he roſe up, and ran to meet him; conſidering it as a great proof of the juſtice of his cauſe, that, in ſpite of age and weakneſs, perſons ſhould

* It ſeemed very ſtrange, ſays Dio, that Labienus ſhould abandon Cæſar, who had loaded him with honours, and given him the command of all the forces on the other ſide of the Alps, while he was at Rome. But he gives this reaſon for it: "Labienus, elated "with his immenſe wealth, and proud of his preferments, forgot "himſelf to ſuch a degree, as to aſſume a character very unbe- "coming a perſon in his circumſtances. He was even for putting "himſelf upon an equality with Cæſar, who thereupon grew cool "towards him, and treated him with ſome reſerve, which Labie- "nus reſented, and went over to Pompey."

† The former Engliſh tranſlator renders this *Galatia*. He ought to have remembered that this Brutus was killed by Geminius, in a village near the Po, by Pompey's order, after he had accepted his ſubmiſſion, if not promiſed him his life. The authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory have copied the error.

come

come and ſeek danger with him, rather than ſtay at home in ſafety.

But after Pompey had aſſembled his ſenate, and at the motion of Cato, a decree was made, "That no "Roman ſhould be killed, except in battle, nor any "city that was ſubject to the Romans be plundered," Pompey's party gained ground daily. Thoſe who lived at too great a diſtance, or were too weak to take a ſhare in the war, intereſted themſelves in the cauſe as much as they were able, and, with words at leaſt, contended for it; looking upon thoſe as enemies both to the gods and men, who did not wiſh that Pompey might conquer.

Not but that Cæſar made a merciful uſe of his victories. He had lately made himſelf maſter of Pompey's forces in Spain, and though it was not without a battle, he diſmiſſed the officers, and incorporated the troops with his own. After this, he paſſed the Alps again, and marched through Italy to Brunduſium, where he arrived at the time of the winter ſolſtice. There he croſſed the ſea, and landed at Oricum; from whence he diſpatched Vibullius *, one of Pompey's friends, whom he had brought priſoner thither, with propoſals of a conference between him and Pompey, "in which they ſhould agree to diſband their armies "within three days, renew their friendſhip, confirm it "with ſolemn oaths, and then both return to Italy."

Pompey took this overture for another ſnare, and therefore drew down in haſte to the ſea, and ſecured all the forts and places of ſtrength for land forces, as well as all the ports and other commodious ſtations for ſhipping; ſo that there was not a wind that blew,

* In the printed text it is *Jubius*; but one of the manuſcripts gives us *Vibullius*, which is the name he has in Cæſar's Comm. Lib. iii. Vibullius Rufus travelled night and day, without allowing himſelf any reſt, till he reached Pompey's camp, who had not yet received advice of Cæſar's arrival, but was no ſooner informed of the taking of Oricum and Apollonia, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches reached Oricum before Cæſar.

which did not bring him either proviſions, or troops, or money. On the other hand, Cæſar was reduced to ſuch ſtraits both by ſea and land, that he was under a neceſſity of ſeeking a battle. Accordingly, he attacked Pompey's entrenchments, and bade him defiance daily. In moſt of theſe attacks and ſkirmiſhes he had the advantage; but one day was in danger of loſing his whole army. Pompey fought with ſo much valour, that he put Cæſar's whole detachment to flight, after having killed two thouſand of them upon the ſpot; but was either unable or afraid to purſue his blow, and enter their camp with them. Cæſar ſaid to his friends on the occaſion, "This day the victory had "been the enemy's, had their general known how to "conquer *."

Pompey's troops, elated with this ſucceſs, were in great haſte to come to a deciſive battle. Nay, Pompey himſelf ſeemed to give into their opinions by writing to the kings, the generals, and cities in his intereſt, in the ſtile of a conqueror. Yet all this while he dreaded the iſſue of a general action; believing it much better, by length of time, by famine and fatigue, to tire out men who had been ever invincible in arms, and long accuſtomed to conquer when they fought together. Beſides, he knew the infirmities of age had made them unfit for the other operations of war, for long marches and countermarches, for digging trenches and building forts, and that, therefore, they wiſhed for nothing ſo much as a battle. Pompey,

* Yet it may be obſerved, in defence of Pompey, that as his troops were raw and unexperienced, it was not amiſs to try them in many ſkirmiſhes and light attacks, before he hazarded a general engagement with an army of veterans. Many inſtances of that kind might be produced, from the conduct of the ableſt generals. And we are perſuaded, that if Pompey had attempted to force Cæſar's camp, he would have been repulſed with loſs and diſgrace. Pompey's greateſt error ſeems to have been, his ſuffering himſelf to be brought to an action at laſt, by the importunity of his officers and ſoldiers, againſt his better judgment.

with

with all theſe arguments, found it no eaſy matter to keep his army quiet.

After this laſt engagement, Cæſar was in ſuch want of proviſions, that he was forced to decamp, and he took his way through Athamania to Theſſaly. This added ſo much to the high opinion Pompey's ſoldiers had of themſelves, that it was impoſſible to keep it within bounds. They cried out with one voice, "Cæſar is fled." Some called upon the general to purſue: Some, to paſs over to Italy. Others ſent their friends and ſervants to Rome, to engage houſes near the *forum*, for the convenience of ſoliciting the great offices of ſtate. And not a few went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately lodged in Leſbos, to congratulate her upon the concluſion of the war.

On this great emergency, a council of war was called; in which Afranius gave it as his opinion, "That they ought immediately to regain Italy, for "that was the great prize aimed at in the war. Sicily, "Sardinia, Corſica, Spain, and both the Gauls, would "ſoon ſubmit to thoſe who were maſters there. What "ſhould affect Pompey ſtill more was, that his native "country juſt by, ſtretched out her hands to him as a "ſuppliant; and it could not be conſiſtent with his "honour to let her remain under ſuch indignities, and "in ſo diſgraceful a vaſſalage to the ſlaves and flatterers "of tyrants." But Pompey thought it would neither be for his reputation, to fly a ſecond time from Cæſar, and again to be purſued, when fortune put it in his power to purſue; nor agreeable to the laws of piety, to leave his father-in-law Scipio, and many other perſons of conſular dignity in Greece and Theſſaly, a prey to Cæſar, with all their treaſures and forces. As for Rome, he ſhould take the beſt care of her, by fixing the ſcene of war at the greateſt diſtance from her; that without feeling its calamities, or perhaps hearing the report of them, ſhe might quietly wait for the conqueror.

This opinion prevailing, he ſet out in purſuit of Cæſar, with a reſolution not to hazard a battle, but to keep near enough to hold him, as it were, beſieged, and to wear him out with famine. This he thought the beſt method he could take; and a report was, moreover, brought him, of its being whiſpered among the equeſtrian order, "That as ſoon as they had taken "off Cæſar, they could do nothing better than take off "him too." Some ſay, this was the reaſon why he did not employ Cato in any ſervice of importance, but, upon his march againſt Cæſar, ſent him to the ſea-coaſt to take care of the baggage, leſt, after he had deſtroyed Cæſar, Cato ſhould ſoon oblige him to lay down his commiſſion.

While he thus ſoftly followed the enemy's ſteps, a complaint was raiſed againſt him, and urged with much clamour, that he was not exerciſing his Generalſhip upon Cæſar, but upon the ſenate and the whole commonwealth, in order that he might for ever keep the command in his hands, and have thoſe for his guards and ſervants, who had a right to govern the world. Domitius Ænobarbus, to increaſe the *odium*, always called him Agamemnon, or king of kings. Favonius piqued him no leſs with a jeſt, than others by their unſeaſonable ſeverity; he went about crying, "My "friends, we ſhall eat no figs in Tuſculum this year." And Lucius Afranius, who loſt the forces in Spain, and was accuſed of having betrayed them into the enemy's hand, now when he ſaw Pompey avoid a battle, ſaid, "He was ſurprized that his accuſers ſhould make "any difficulty of fighting that merchant, (as they "called him,) who trafficked for provinces."

Theſe, and many other like ſallies of ridicule, had ſuch an effect upon Pompey, who was ambitious of being ſpoken well of by all the world, and had too much deference for the opinions of his friends, that he gave up his own better judgment, to follow them in the career of their falſe hopes and proſpects. A thing which would have been unpardonable in the pilot or maſter

maſter of a ſhip, much more in the commander in chief of ſo many nations, and ſuch numerous armies. He had often commended the phyſician who gives no indulgence to the whimſical longings of his patients, and yet he humoured the ſickly cravings of his army, and was afraid to give them pain, though neceſſary for the preſervation of their life and being. For who can ſay that army was in a ſound and healthy ſtate, when ſome of the officers went about the camp canvaſſing for the offices of conſul and prætor; and others, namely Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were engaged in quarrels and cabals about Cæſar's high-prieſthood, as if their adverſary had been only a Tigranes, a king of Armenia, or a prince of the Nabathæans; and not that Cæſar and that army, who had ſtormed a thouſand cities, ſubdued above three hundred nations, gained numberleſs battles of the Germans and Gauls, taken a million of priſoners, and killed as many fairly in the field. Notwithſtanding all this, they continued loud and tumultuous in their demands of a battle, and when they came to the plains of Pharſalia, forced Pompey to call a council of war. Labienus, who had the command of the cavalry, roſe up firſt, and took an oath, "That he would not re-"turn from the battle, till he had put the enemy to "flight." All the other officers ſwore the ſame.

The night following, Pompey had this dream*. He thought "he entered his own theatre, and was received "with loud plaudits; after which, he adorned the temple "of Venus *the victorious* with many ſpoils." This viſion, on one ſide, encouraged him, and on another alarmed him. He was afraid that Cæſar, who was a deſcendant of Venus, would be aggrandized at his expence.

* At nox felicis Magno pars ultima vitæ
Sollicitos vana decepit imagine ſomnos.
Nam Pompeiani viſus ſibi ſede theatri
Innumeram effigiem Romanæ cernere Plebis,
Attollique ſuum lætis ad ſidera nomen
Vocibus, & plauſu cuneos certare ſonantes.
LUCAN, Lib. vii.

Beſides, a panic* fear ran through the camp, the noiſe of which awaked him. And about the morning watch, over Cæſar's camp, where every thing was perfectly quiet, there ſuddenly appeared a great light, from which a ſtream of fire iſſued in the form of a torch, and fell upon that of Pompey. Cæſar himſelf ſays, he ſaw it as he was going his rounds.

Cæſar was preparing, at break of day, to march† to Scotuſa; his ſoldiers were ſtriking their tents, and the ſervants, and beaſts of burden, were already in motion, when his ſcouts brought intelligence, that they had ſeen arms handed about in the enemy's camp, and perceived a noiſe and buſtle, which indicated an approaching battle. After theſe, others came and aſſured him, that the firſt ranks were drawn up.

Upon this, Cæſar ſaid, "The long-wiſhed day is "come, on which we ſhall fight with men, and not "with want and famine." Then he immediately ordered the red mantle to be put up before his pavilion, which, among the Romans, is the ſignal of a battle. The ſoldiers no ſooner beheld it, than they left their tents as they were, and ran to arms with loud ſhouts, and every expreſſion of joy. And when the officers began to put them in order of battle, each man fell into his proper rank as quietly, and with as much ſkill and eaſe, as a *chorus* in a tragedy.

‡Pompey placed himſelf in his right wing over againſt Antony, and his father-in-law, Scipio, in the

* *Panic* fears were ſo called, from the terror which the god *Pan* is ſaid to have ſtruck the enemies of Greece with, at the battle of Marathon.

† Προ σκοτους in the printed text is evidently a corruption. An anonymous manuſcript gives us προς Σκοτουσαν. Scotuſa was a city of Theſſaly. Cæſar was perſuaded that Pompey would not come to action, and therefore choſe to march in ſearch of proviſions, as well as to harraſs the enemy with frequent movements, and to watch his opportunity, in ſome of thoſe movements, to fall upon them.

‡ It is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that the account which Cæſar himſelf has left us of this memorable battle, ſhould meet with contradiction. Yet ſo it is; Plutarch differs widely from him, and

centre, oppoſite Lucius Calvinus. His left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and ſupported by the cavalry; for they were almoſt all ranged on that ſide, in order to break in upon Cæſar, and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the braveſt in his army, and in which he uſed to fight in perſon. Cæſar ſeeing the enemy's left wing ſo well guarded with horſe, and fearing the excellence of their armour, ſent for a detachment of ſix cohorts from the body of reſerve, and placed them behind the tenth legion, with orders not to ſtir before the attack, leſt they ſhould be diſcovered by the enemy; but when the enemy's cavalry had charged, to make up through the foremoſt ranks, and then not to diſcharge their javelins at a diſtance, as brave men generally do in their eagerneſs to come to ſword in hand, but to reſerve them till they came to cloſe fighting, and puſh them upwards into the eyes and faces of the enemy. "For thoſe fair young dan-"cers," ſaid he, "will never ſtand the ſteel aimed

and Appian from both. According to Cæſar (Bell. Civil. lib. iii.) Pompey was on the left with the two legions, which Cæſar had returned him at the beginning of the war. Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was in the centre, with the legions he had brought from Syria, and the reinforcements ſent by ſeveral kings and ſtates of Aſia. The Cilician legion, and ſome cohorts which had ſerved in Spain, were in the right, under the command of Afranius. As Pompey's right wing was covered by the Enipeus, he ſtrengthened the left with the ſeven thouſand horſe, as well as with the ſlingers and archers. The whole army, conſiſting of forty-five thouſand men, was drawn up in three lines, with very little ſpaces between them. In conformity to this diſpoſition, Cæſar's army was drawn up in the following order: the tenth legion, which had on all occaſions ſignalized itſelf above the reſt, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been conſiderably weakened in the action at Dyrrhachium, the eighth legion was poſted ſo near it, as to be able to ſupport and reinforce it upon occaſion. The reſt of Cæſar's forces filled up the ſpaces between the two wings. Mark Antony commanded the left wing, Sylla the right, and Cneius Domitius Calvus the main body. As for Cæſar, he poſted himſelf on the right over againſt Pompey, that he might have him always in ſight.

"at

" at their eyes, but will fly to ſave their handſome " faces."

While Cæſar was thus employed, Pompey took a view on horſeback of the order of both armies; and finding that the enemy kept their ranks with the utmoſt exactneſs, and quietly waited for the ſignal of battle, while his own men, for want of experience, were fluctuating and unſteady, he was afraid they would be broken upon the firſt onſet. He therefore commanded the vanguard to ſtand* firm in their ranks, and in that cloſe order to receive the enemy's charge. Cæſar condemned this meaſure, as not only tending to leſſen the vigour of the blows, which is always greateſt in the aſſailants, but alſo to damp the fire and ſpirit of the men; whereas thoſe who advance with impetuoſity, and animate each other with ſhouts, are filled with an enthuſiaſtic valour, and ſuperior ardour.

Cæſar's army conſiſted of twenty-two thouſand men, and Pompey's was ſomething more than twice that number. When the ſignal was given on both ſides, and the trumpets ſounded a charge, each common man attended only to his own concern. But ſome of the principal Romans and Greeks, who only ſtood and looked on, when the dreadful moment of action approached, could not help conſidering to what the avarice and ambition of two men had brought the Roman empire. The ſame arms on both ſides, the troops marſhalled in the ſame manner, the ſame ſtandards; in ſhort, the ſtrength and flower of one and the ſame city turned upon itſelf! What could be a ſtronger proof of the blindneſs and infatuation of human nature, when carried away by its paſſions? Had they been willing to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace and tranquillity, the greateſt and beſt part of the world was their own. Or, if they muſt

* Vide Cæs. ubi ſupra.

This, however, muſt be ſaid in excuſe for Pompey, that generals of great fame and experience have ſometimes done as he did.

have

have indulged their thirſt of victories and triumphs, the Parthians and Germans were yet to be ſubdued; Scythia and India yet remained; together with a very plauſible colour for their luſt of new acquiſitions, the pretence of civilizing barbarians. And what Scythian horſe, what Parthian arrows, what Indian treaſures, could have reſiſted ſeventy thouſand Romans, led on by Pompey and Cæſar, with whoſe names thoſe nations had long been acquainted? Into ſuch a variety of wild and ſavage countries had thoſe two generals carried their victorious arms. Whereas now they ſtood threatening each other with deſtruction; not ſparing even their own glory, though to it they ſacrificed their country, but prepared, one of them, to loſe the reputation of being invincible, which hitherto they had both maintained. So that the alliance which they had contracted by Pompey's marriage to Julia, was from the firſt only an artful expedient; and her charms were to form a ſelf-intereſted compact, inſtead of being the pledge of a ſincere friendſhip.

The plain of Pharſalia was now covered with men, and horſes, and arms; and the ſignal of battle being given on both ſides, the firſt on Cæſar's ſide who advanced to the charge, was Caius * Craſtinus, who commanded a corps of a hundred and twenty men, and was determined to make good his promiſe to his general. He was the firſt man Cæſar ſaw when he went out of the trenches in the morning; and upon Cæſar's aſking him what he thought of the battle, he ſtretched out his hand, and anſwered in a chearful tone, "You will gain a glorious victory, and I ſhall "have your praiſe this day, either alive or dead." In purſuance of this promiſe, he advanced the foremoſt, and many following to ſupport him, he charged into the midſt of the enemy. They ſoon took to their ſwords, and numbers were ſlain; but as Craſtinus was

* So Cæſar calls him. His name in Plutarch is *Craſſianus*, in Appian *Craſſinus*.

making

making his way forward, and cutting down all before him, one of Pompey's men ſtood to receive him, and puſhed his ſword in at his mouth with ſuch force that it went through the nape of his neck. Craſtinus thus killed, the fight was maintained with equal advantage on both ſides.

Pompey did not immediately bring on his right wing, but often directed his eyes to the left, and loſt time in waiting to ſee what execution his cavalry would do there. Mean while they had extended their ſquadrons to ſurround Cæſar, and prepared to drive the few horſe he had placed in front, back upon the foot. At that inſtant Cæſar gave the ſignal: Upon which, his cavalry retreated a little; * and the ſix cohorts, which conſiſted of three thouſand men, and had been placed behind the tenth legion, advanced to ſurround Pompey's cavalry; and coming cloſe up to them, raiſed the points of their javelins, as they had been taught, and aimed † them at the face. Their adverſaries, who were not experienced in any kind of fighting, and had not the leaſt previous idea of this, could not parry or endure the blows upon their faces, but turned their backs, or covered their eyes with their hands, and ſoon fled with great diſhonour. Cæſar's men took no care to purſue them, but turned their force upon the enemy's infantry, particularly upon that wing, which, now ſtript of its horſe, lay open to the attack on all ſides. The ſix cohorts, therefore, took them in flank, while the tenth legion charged them in front; and they, who had hoped to ſurround the enemy, and now, inſtead of that, ſaw themſelves

* Αἱ δὲ ἐπιτεταγμέναι σπείραι πρὸς τὴν κυκλωσιν ἐπιδράμωσαι, τρισχίλιοι ἄνδρες, ὑπαντιάζουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις.

Amiot and Dacier tranſlate this paſſage as we have done; though, with a comma after κυκλωσιν; it may poſſibly bear the ſenſe which the Latin and the former Engliſh tranſlator have given it; namely, that they were placed there to prevent the tenth legion from being ſurrounded, but that does not appear to be a natural conſtruction.

† *Miles, feri faciem.*

ſur-

ſurrounded, made but a ſhort reſiſtance, and then took to a precipitate flight.

By the great duſt that was raiſed, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry; and it is hard to ſay what paſſed in his mind at that moment. He appeared like a man moon-ſtruck and diſtracted; and without conſidering that he was Pompey the Great, or ſpeaking to any one, he quitted the ranks, and retired ſtep by ſtep towards his camp. A ſcene which cannot be better painted than in theſe verſes of Homer*:

But partial Jove *eſpouſing* Hector's *part,*
Shot heav'n-bred horror through the Grecian's *heart;*
Confus'd, unnerv'd in Hector's *preſence grown,*
Amaz'd he ſtood, with terrors not his own.
O'er his broad back his moony ſhield he threw,
And glaring round by tardy ſteps withdrew. POPE.

In this condition he entered his tent, where he ſate down, and uttered not a word, till at laſt, upon finding that ſome of the enemy entered the camp with the fugitives, he ſaid, "What! into my camp, too!" After this ſhort exclamation, he roſe up, and dreſſing himſelf in a manner ſuitable to his fortune, privately withdrew†. All the other legions fled; and a great ſlaughter was made in the camp, of the ſervants and others who had the care of the tents. But Aſinius Pollio, who then fought on Cæſar's ſide, aſſures us,

* In the eleventh book of the Iliad, where he is ſpeaking of the flight of Ajax before Hector.

† Cæſar tells us that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous reſiſtance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he reſolved to inveſt them. But before he had finiſhed his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that poſt, and retire towards Lariſſa. Cæſar purſued the fugitives at the head of four legions, (not of the fourth legion, as the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory erroneouſly ſay,) and after ſix miles march came up with them. But they not daring to engage troops flushed with victory, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though Cæſar's men were quite ſpent, and ready to faint with the exceſſive heat and the fatigue of the whole day, yet, by his obliging manner, he

that of the regular troops there were not above ſix thouſand men killed *.

Upon the taking of the camp, there was a ſpectacle which ſhewed, in ſtrong colours, the vanity and folly of Pompey's troops. All the tents were crowned with myrtle; the beds were ſtrewed with flowers; the tables covered with cups, and bowls of wine ſet out. In ſhort, every thing had the appearance of preparations for feaſts and ſacrifices, rather than for men going out to battle. To ſuch a degree had their vain hopes corrupted them, and with ſuch a ſenſeleſs confidence they took the field!

When Pompey had got at a little diſtance from the camp, he quitted his horſe. He had very few people about him; and, as he ſaw he was not purſued, he went ſoftly on, wrapt up in ſuch thoughts as we may ſuppoſe a man to have, who had been uſed for thirty-four years to conquer and carry all before him, and now in his old age firſt came to know what it was to be defeated and to fly. We may eaſily conjecture what his thoughts muſt be, when in one ſhort hour he had loſt the glory and the power which had been growing up amidſt ſo many wars and conflicts; and he who was lately guarded with ſuch armies of horſe and foot, and ſuch great and powerful fleets, was reduced to ſo mean and contemptible an equipage, that his enemies, who were in ſearch of him, could not know him.

He paſſed by Lariſſa, and came to Tempe, where burning with thirſt, he threw himſelf upon his face, and drank out of the river; after which, he paſſed through the valley, and went down to the ſea-coaſt. There he ſpent the remainder of the night in a poor

he prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of the water from the enemy by a trench. Hereupon, the unfortunate fugitives came to a capitulation, threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except ſome ſenators, who, as it was now night, eſcaped in the dark. Vide Cæs. Bell. liv. jii. 80.

* Cæſar ſays, that in all there were fifteen thouſand killed, and twenty-four thouſand taken priſoners.

fiſher-

fiſherman's cabin. Next morning, about break of day, he went on board a ſmall river-boat, taking with him ſuch of his company as were freemen. The ſlaves he diſmiſſed, bidding them go to Cæſar, and fear nothing.

As he was coaſting along, he ſaw a ſhip of burthen juſt ready to ſail; the maſter of which was Peticius, a Roman citizen, who, though not acquainted with Pompey, knew him by ſight. It happened, that this man, the night before, dreamt he ſaw Pompey come and talk to him, not in the figure he had formerly known him, but in mean and melancholy circumſtances. He was giving the paſſengers an account of his dream, as perſons, who have a great deal of time upon their hands, love to diſcourſe about ſuch matters; when, on a ſudden, one of the mariners told him, he ſaw a little boat rowing up to him from the land, and the crew making ſigns, by ſhaking their garments and ſtretching out their hands. Upon this, Peticius ſtood up, and could diſtinguiſh Pompey among them, in the ſame form as he had ſeen him in his dream. Then beating his head for ſorrow, he ordered the ſeamen to let down the ſhip's boat, and held out his hand to Pompey to invite him aboard; for by his dreſs he perceived his change of fortune. Therefore, without waiting for any farther application, he took him up, and ſuch of his companions as he thought proper, and then hoiſted ſail. The perſons Pompey took with him, were the two Lentuli and Favonius; and a little after, they ſaw king Deiotarus beckoning to them with great earneſtneſs from the ſhore, and took him up likewiſe. The maſter of the ſhip provided them the beſt ſupper he could, and when it was almoſt ready, Pompey, for want of a ſervant, was going to waſh himſelf, but Favonius ſeeing it, ſtepped up, and both waſhed and anointed him. All the time he was on board, he continued to wait upon him in all the offices of a ſervant, even to the waſhing of his feet and providing his ſupper; inſomuch, that one who ſaw the unaffected ſimplicity

plicity and ſincere attachment with which Favonius performed theſe offices, cried out,

—— The generous mind adds dignity
To every act, and nothing miſbecomes it.

Pompey in the courſe of his voyage, ſailed by Amphipolis, and from thence ſteered for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his ſon. As ſoon as he reached the iſland, he ſent a meſſenger to the town with news far different from what Cornelia expected. For, by the flattering accounts which many officious perſons had given her, ſhe underſtood, that the diſpute was decided at Dyrrhachium, and that nothing but the purſuit of Cæſar remained to be attended to. The meſſenger finding her poſſeſſed with ſuch hopes, had not power to make the uſual ſalutations; but expreſſing the greateſt of Pompey's misfortunes by his tears rather than words, only told her, "She muſt make haſte, if "ſhe had a mind to ſee Pompey with one ſhip only, "and that not his own."

At this news Cornelia threw herſelf upon the ground, where ſhe lay a long time inſenſible and ſpeechleſs. At laſt, coming to herſelf, ſhe perceived there was no time to be loſt in tears and lamentations, and therefore haſtened through the town to the ſea. Pompey ran to meet her, and received her to his arms as ſhe was juſt going to fall. While ſhe hung upon his neck, ſhe thus addreſſed him: "I ſee, my dear huſ-"band, your preſent unhappy condition is the effect "of my ill fortune, and not yours. Alas! how are "you reduced to one poor veſſel, who, before your "marriage with Cornelia, traverſed this ſea with five "hundred gallies? Why did you come to ſee me, and "not rather leave me to my evil deſtiny, who have "loaded you too with ſuch a weight of calamities? "How happy had it been for me to have died before "I heard that Publius, my firſt huſband, was killed "by the Parthians? How wiſe, had I followed him to "the grave, as I once intended? What have I lived

"for

"for ſince, but to bring misfortunes upon Pompey the "Great*?"

Such, we are aſſured, was the ſpeech of Cornelia; and Pompey anſwered, "'Till this moment, Cornelia, "you have experienced nothing but the ſmiles of for- "tune; and it was ſhe who deceived you, becauſe ſhe "ſtayed with me longer than ſhe commonly does with "her favourites. But, fated as we are, we muſt bear "this reverſe, and make another trial of her. For it is "no more improbable, that we may emerge from this "poor condition, and riſe to great things again, than "it was, that we ſhould fall from great things into "this poor condition."

Cornelia then ſent to the city for her moſt valuable moveables and her ſervants. The people of Mitylene came to pay their reſpects to Pompey, and to invite him to their city. But he refuſed to go, and bade them ſurrender themſelves to the conqueror without fear; "for Cæſar," he told them, "had great cle- "mency." After this, he turned to Cratippus the philoſopher, who was come from the town to ſee him, and began to complain a little of Providence, and expreſs ſome doubts concerning it. Cratippus made ſome conceſſions, and, turning the diſcourſe, encouraged him to hope better things; that he might not give him pain, by an unſeaſonable oppoſition to his arguments; elſe he might have anſwered his objections againſt Providence, by ſhewing, that the ſtate, and indeed the conſtitution, was in ſuch diſorder, that it was neceſſary it ſhould be changed into a monarchy.

* Cornelia is repreſented by Lucan, too, as imputing the misfortunes of Pompey to her alliance with him; and it ſeems, from one part of her ſpeech on this occaſion, that ſhe ſhould have been given to Cæſar.

O utinam Thalamos inviſi Cæſaris iſſem.

If there were any thing in this, it might have been a material cauſe of the quarrel between Cæſar and Pompey, as the latter, by means of this alliance, muſt have ſtrengthened himſelf with the Craſſian intereſt: For Cornelia was the relict of Publius Craſſus, the ſon of Marcus Craſſus.

Or this one queſtion would have ſilenced him, "How "do we know, Pompey, that, if you had conquered, "you would have made a better uſe of your good for-"tune than Cæſar?" But we muſt leave the determinations of heaven to its ſuperior wiſdom.

As ſoon as his wife and his friends were embarked, he ſet ſail, and continued his courſe, without touching at any port, except for water and proviſions, till he came to Attalia, a city of Pamphylia. There he was joined by ſome Cilician gallies; and beſide picking up a number of ſoldiers, he found in a little time ſixty ſenators about him. When he was informed that his fleet was ſtill entire, and that Cato was gone to Africa with a conſiderable body of men which he had collected after their flight, he lamented to his friends his great error, in ſuffering himſelf to be forced into an engagement at land, and making no uſe of thoſe forces, in which he was confeſſedly ſtronger; nor even taking care to fight near his fleet, that, in caſe of his meeting with a check at land, he might have been ſupplied from ſea with another army, capable of making head againſt the enemy. Indeed, we find no greater miſtake in Pompey's whole conduct, nor a more remarkable inſtance of Cæſar's generalſhip, than in removing the ſcene of action to ſuch a diſtance from the naval forces.

However, as it was neceſſary to undertake ſomething with the ſmall means he had left, he ſent to ſome cities, and ſailed to others himſelf, to raiſe money, and to get a ſupply of men for his ſhips. But knowing the extraordinary celerity of the enemy's motions, he was afraid he might be before-hand with him, and ſeize all that he was preparing. He, therefore, began to think of retiring to ſome aſylum, and propoſed the matter in council. They could not think of any province in the Roman empire that would afford a ſafe retreat; and when they caſt their eyes on the foreign kingdoms, Pompey mentioned Parthia, as the moſt likely to receive and protect them in their preſent weak condition, and afterwards to ſend them back with a force

force ſufficient to retrieve their affairs. Others were of opinion, it was proper to apply to Africa, and to Juba in particular. But Theophanes of Leſbos obſerved, it was madneſs to leave Egypt; which was diſtant but three days ſail. Beſides, Ptolemy, * who was growing towards manhood, had particular obligations to Pompey. on his father's account: And ſhould he go then, and put himſelf in the hands of the Parthians, the moſt perfidious people in the world? He repreſented what a wrong meaſure it would be, if, rather than truſt to the clemency of a noble Roman, who was his father-in-law, and be contented with the ſecond place of eminence, he would venture his perſon with † Arſaces, by whom even Craſſus would not be taken alive. He added, that it would be extremely abſurd to carry a young woman of the family of Scipio among Barbarians, who thought power conſiſted in the diſplay of inſolence and outrage; and where, if ſhe eſcaped unviolated, it would be believed ſhe did not, after ſhe had been with thoſe who were capable of treating her with indignity. It is ſaid, this laſt conſideration only, prevented his marching to the Euphrates; but it is ſome doubt with us, whether it was not rather his fate, than his opinion, which directed his ſteps another way.

When it was determined that they ſhould ſeek for refuge in Egypt, he ſet ſail from Cyprus with Cornelia, in a Seleucian galley. The reſt accompanied him, ſome in ſhips of war, and ſome in merchantmen: And they made a ſafe voyage. Being informed that Ptolemy was with his army at Peluſium, where he was engaged in war with his ſiſter, he proceeded thither, and ſent a meſſenger before him to notify his arrival, and to intreat the King's protection.

* This was Ptolemy Dionyſius, the ſon of Ptolemy Auletes, who died in the year of Rome 704, which was the year before the battle of Pharſalia. He was now in his fourteenth year.

† From this paſſage it appears, that Arſaces was the common name of the kings of Parthia. For it was not the proper name of the king then upon the throne, nor of him who was at war with Craſſus.

Ptolemy was very young, and Photinus, his prime miniſter, called a council of his ableſt officers; though their advice had no more weight than he was pleaſed to allow it. He ordered each, however, to give his opinion. But who can, without indignation, conſider, that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be determined by Photinus, an Eunuch, by Theodotus, a man of Chios, who was hired to teach the prince rhetoric, and by Achillas, an Egyptian? for among the king's chamberlains and tutors, theſe had the greateſt influence over him, and were the perſons he moſt conſulted. Pompey lay at anchor at ſome diſtance from the place, waiting the determination of this reſpectable board; while he thought it beneath him to be indebted to Cæſar for his ſafety. The council were divided in their opinions; ſome adviſing the prince to give him an honourable reception, and others to ſend him an order to depart. But Theodotus, to diſplay his eloquence, inſiſted that both were wrong. "If "you receive him," ſaid he, "you will have Cæſar "for your enemy, and Pompey for your maſter. If "you order him off, Pompey may one day revenge "the affront, and Cæſar reſent your not having put "him in his hands: The beſt method, therefore, is "to ſend for him, and put him to death. By this "means you will do Cæſar a favour, and have nothing "to fear from Pompey." He added, with a ſmile, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice being approved of, the execution of it was committed to Achillas. In conſequence of which, he took with him Septimius, who had formerly been one of Pompey's officers, and Salvius, who had alſo acted under him as a centurion, with three or four aſſiſtants, and made up to Pompey's ſhip, where his principal friends and officers had aſſembled, to ſee how the affair went on. When they perceived there was nothing magnificent in their reception, nor ſuitable to the hopes which Theophanes had conceived, but that a few men only, in a fiſhing-boat, came to wait upon them,

them, ſuch want of reſpect appeared a ſuſpicious circumſtance; and they adviſed Pompey, while he was out of the reach of miſſive weapons, to get out to the main ſea.

Mean time, the boat approaching, Septimius ſpoke firſt, addreſſing Pompey, in Latin, by the title of *Imperator*. Then Achillas ſaluted him in Greek, and deſired him to come into the boat, becauſe the water was very ſhallow towards the ſhore, and a galley muſt ſtrike upon the ſands. At the ſame time they ſaw ſeveral of the king's ſhips getting ready, and the ſhore covered with troops, ſo that if they would have changed their minds, it was then too late; beſides, their diſtruſt would have furniſhed the aſſaſſins with a pretence for their injuſtice. He, therefore, embraced Cornelia, who lamented his ſad exit before it happened; and ordered two centurions, one of his enfranchiſed ſlaves, named Philip, and a ſervant called Scenes, to get into the boat before him. When Achillas had hold of his hand, and he was going to ſtep in himſelf, he turned to his wife and ſon, and repeated that verſe of Sophocles,

Seek'ſt thou a tyrant's door? then farewell freedom!
Tho' free *as air before* ——

Theſe were the laſt words he ſpoke to them.

As there was a conſiderable diſtance between the galley and the ſhore, and he obſerved that not a man in the boat ſhewed him the leaſt civility, or even ſpoke to him, he looked at Septimius, and ſaid, "Methinks, I re-"member you to have been my fellow-ſoldier;" but he anſwered only with a nod, without teſtifying any regard or friendſhip. A profound ſilence again taking place, Pompey took out a paper, in which he had written a ſpeech in Greek, that he deſigned to make to Ptolemy, and amuſed himſelf with reading it.

When they approached the ſhore, Cornelia, with her friends in the galley, watched the event with great anxiety. She was a little encouraged, when ſhe ſaw a

number of the king's great officers coming down to the ſtrand in all appearance to receive her huſband and do him honour. But the moment Pompey was taking hold of Philip's hand, to raiſe himſelf with more eaſe, Septimius came behind, and run him through the body; after which Salvius and Achillas alſo drew their ſwords. Pompey took his robe in both hands, and covered his face; and without ſaying or doing the leaſt thing unworthy of him, ſubmitted to his fate; only uttering a groan, while they diſpatched him with many blows. He was then juſt fifty-nine years old, for he was killed the day after his birth-day *.

Cornelia, and her friends in the galleys, upon ſeeing him murdered, gave a ſhriek that was heard to the ſhore, and weighed anchor immediately. Their flight was aſſiſted by a briſk gale, as they got out more to ſea; ſo that the Egyptians gave up their deſign of purſuing them.

The murderers having cut off Pompey's head, threw the body out of the boat naked, and left it expoſed to all who were deſirous of ſuch a ſight. Philip ſtayed till their curioſity was ſatisfied, and then waſhed the body with ſea-water, and wrapt it in one of his own garments, becauſe he had nothing elſe at hand. The next thing was to look out for wood for the funeral-pile; and caſting his eyes over the ſhore, he ſpied the old remains of a fiſhing-boat; which, though not large, would make a ſufficient pile for a poor naked body that was not quite entire.

While he was collecting the pieces of plank and putting them together, an old Roman, who had made ſome of his firſt campaigns under Pompey, came up,

* Some divines, in ſaying that Pompey never proſpered after he preſumed to enter the ſanctuary in the temple at Jeruſalem, intimate, that his misfortunes were owing to that profanation; but we forbear, with Plutarch, to comment upon the providential determinations of the ſupreme Being. Indeed he fell a ſacrifice to as vile a ſet of people as he had before inſulted, for, the Jews excepted, there was not upon earth a more deſpicable race of men than the cowardly cruel Egyptians,

and

and ſaid to Philip, "Who are you that are preparing "the funeral of Pompey the Great?" Philip anſwered, I am his freedman." "But you ſhall not," ſaid the old Roman, "have this honour entirely to "yourſelf. As a work of piety offers itſelf, let me "have a ſhare in it; that I may not abſolutely repent "my having paſſed ſo many years in a foreign coun-"try; but, to compenſate many misfortunes, may "have the conſolation of *doing ſome of the laſt "honours to the greateſt general Rome ever produced." In this manner was the funeral of Pompey conducted.

Next day Lucius Lentulus, who knew nothing of what had paſſed, becauſe he was upon his voyage from Cyprus, arrived upon the Egyptian ſhore; and, as he was coaſting along, ſaw the funeral-pile, and Philip, whom he did not yet know, ſtanding by it. Upon which, he ſaid to himſelf, "Who has finiſhed his "days, and is going to leave his remains upon this "ſhore?" adding, after a ſhort pauſe, with a ſigh, "Ah! Pompey the Great! perhaps thou mayſt "be the man." Lentulus ſoon after went on ſhore, and was taken and ſlain.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great. As for Cæſar, he arrived not long after in Egypt, which he found in great diſorder. When they came to preſent the head, he turned from it, and the perſon that brought it, as a ſight of horror. He received the ſeal, but it was with tears. The device was a lion holding a ſword. The two aſſaſſins, Achillas and Photinus, he put to death; and the king, being defeated in battle, periſhed in the river. Theodotus, the rhetorician, eſcaped the vengeance of Cæſar, by leaving Egypt; but he wandered about, a miſerable fugitive, and was hated wherever he went. At laſt, Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæſar, found the wretch in his province of Aſia, and put him to death, after having made him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite tortures.

* Of touching and wrapping up the body.

The aſhes of Pompey were carried to Cornelia, who buried them in his lands near Alba*.

* Pompey has, in all appearance, and in all conſideration of his character, had leſs juſtice done him by hiſtorians, than any other man of his time. His popular humanity, his military and political ſkill, his prudence, (which he ſometimes unfortunately gave up) his natural bravery and generoſity, his conjugal virtues, which (though ſometimes impeached) were, both naturally and morally great; his cauſe, which was certainly, in it's original intereſts, the cauſe of Rome; all theſe circumſtances intitled him to a more diſtinguiſhed and more reſpectable character than any of his hiſtorians have thought proper to afford him. One circumſtance, indeed, renders the accounts that the writers, who roſe after the eſtabliſhed monarchy, have given of his oppoſition, perfectly reconcileable to the prejudice which appears againſt him; or rather to the reluctance which they have ſhewn to that praiſe which they ſeemed to have felt that he deſerved: When the commonwealth was no more, and the ſupporters of its intereſts had fallen with it, then hiſtory itſelf, not to mention poetry, departed from its proper privilege of impartiality, and even Plutarch made a ſacrifice to imperial power.

AGESI-

AGESILAUS *and* POMPEY *compared.*

SUCH is the account we had to give of the lives of theſe two great men; and, in drawing up the parallel, we ſhall previouſly take a ſhort ſurvey of the difference in their characters.

In the firſt place, Pompey roſe to power, and eſtabliſhed his reputation, by juſt and laudable means; partly by the ſtrength of his own genius, and partly by his ſervices to Sylla, in freeing Italy from various attempts of deſpotiſm. Whereas, Ageſilaus came to the throne, by methods equally immoral and irreligious; for it was by accuſing Leotychidas of baſtardy, whom his brother had acknowledged as his legitimate ſon, and by eluding the oracle relative to a lame king *.

In the next place, Pompey paid all due reſpect to Sylla during his life, and took care to ſee his remains honourably interred, notwithſtanding the oppoſition it met with from Lepidus; and afterwards he gave his daughter to Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla. On the other hand, Ageſilaus ſhook off Lyſander upon a ſlight pretence, and treated him with great indignity. Yet the ſervices Pompey received from Sylla were not greater than thoſe he had rendered him; whereas Ageſilaus was appointed King of Sparta by Lyſander's means, and afterwards Captain-general of Greece.

* See the life of Ageſilaus.

In

In the third place, Pompey's offences againſt the laws and the conſtitution, were principally owing to his alliances, to his ſupporting either Cæſar or Scipio (whoſe daughter he had married) in their unjuſt demands. Ageſilaus not only gratified the paſſion of his ſon, by ſparing the life of Sphodrias, whoſe death ought to have atoned for the injuries he had done the Athenians: But he likewiſe ſcreened Phœbidas, who was guilty of an egregious infraction of the league with the Thebans, and it was viſibly for the ſake of his crime that he took him into his protection. In ſhort, whatever troubles Pompey brought upon the Romans, either through ignorance, or a timorous complaiſance for his friends, Ageſilaus brought as great diſtreſſes upon the Spartans, through a ſpirit of obſtinacy and reſentment; for ſuch was the ſpirit that kindled the Bœotian war.

If, when we are mentioning their faults, we may take notice of their fortune, the Romans could have no previous idea of that of Pompey; but the Lacedæmonians were ſufficiently forewarned of the danger of a lame reign, and yet Ageſilaus would not ſuffer them to avail themſelves of that warning *. Nay, ſuppoſing Leotychidas a mere ſtranger, and as much a baſtard as he was; yet the family of Eurytion could eaſily have ſupplied Sparta with a King who was was neither ſpurious, nor maimed, had not Lyſander been induſtrious enough to render the oracle obſcure for the ſake of Ageſilaus.

As to their political talents, there never was a finer meaſure than that of Ageſilaus, when, in the diſtreſs

* It is true, the latter part of Ageſilaus's reign was unfortunate, but the misfortunes were owing to his malice againſt the Thebans, and to his fighting (contrary to the laws of Lycurgus) the ſame enemy ſo frequently, that he taught them to beat him at laſt.

Nevertheleſs, the oracle, as we have obſerved in a former note, probably meant the lameneſs of the kingdom, in having but one king inſtead of two, and not the lameneſs of the king.

of the Spartans how to proceed againſt the fugitives after the battle of Leuctra, he decreed that the laws ſhould be ſilent for that day. We have nothing of Pompey's that can poſſibly be compared to it. On the contrary, he thought himſelf exempted from obſerving the laws he had made, and that his tranſgreſſing them ſhewed his friends his ſuperior power: Whereas Ageſilaus, when under a neceſſity of contravening the laws, to ſave a number of citizens, found out an expedient which ſaved both the laws and the criminals. I muſt alſo reckon among his political virtues, his inimitable behaviour upon the receipt of the *ſcytale*, which ordered him to leave Aſia in the height of his ſucceſs. For he did not, like Pompey, ſerve the commonwealth only in affairs which contributed to his own greatneſs; the good of his country was his great object, and, with a view to that, he renounced ſuch power and ſo much glory as no man had either before or after him, except Alexander the Great.

If we view them in another light, and conſider their military performances; the trophies which Pompey erected were ſo numerous, the armies he led ſo powerful, and the pitched battles he won ſo extraordinary, that I ſuppoſe Xenophon himſelf would not compare the victories of Ageſilaus with them; though that hiſtorian, on account of his other excellencies, has been indulged the peculiar privilege of ſaying what he pleaſed of his hero.

There was a difference too, I think, in their behaviour to their enemies, in point of equity and moderation. Ageſilaus was bent upon enſlaving Thebes, and deſtroying Meſſene; the former the city from which his family ſprung, the latter Sparta's ſiſter colony *; and in the attempt he was near ruining Sparta itſelf. On the other hand, Pompey, after he had conquered the pirates, beſtowed cities on ſuch as were willing to

* For Hercules was born at Thebes; and Meſſene was a colony of the Heraclidæ, as well as Sparta. The Latin and French tranſlations have miſtaken the ſenſe of this paſſage.

change

change their way of life; and when he might have led Tigranes, king of Armenia, captive at the wheels of his chariot, he rather choſe to make him an ally; on which occaſion he made uſe of that memorable expreſſion, "I prefer the glory that will laſt for ever, to "that of a day."

But if the preeminence in military virtue is to be decided by ſuch actions and counſels as are moſt characteriſtical of the great and wiſe commander, we ſhall find that the Lacedæmonian leaves the Roman far behind. In the firſt place, he never abandoned his city, though it was beſieged by ſeventy thouſand men, while he had but a handful of men to oppoſe them with, and thoſe lately defeated in the battle of Leuctra. But Pompey*, upon Cæſar's advancing with five thouſand three hundred men only, and taking one little town in Italy, left Rome in a panic; either meanly yielding to ſo trifling a force, or failing in his intelligence of their real numbers. In his flight he carried off his own wife and children, but he left thoſe of the other citizens in a defenceleſs ſtate; when he ought either to have ſtayed and conquered for his country, or to have accepted ſuch conditions as the conqueror might impoſe, who was both his fellow-citizen and his relation. A little while before, he thought it inſupportable to prolong the term of his commiſſion, and to grant him another conſulſhip; and now he ſuffered him to take poſſeſſion of the city, and to tell Metellus, "That he conſidered him, and all the other inhabitants, "as his priſoners."

If it is the principal buſineſs of a general to know how to bring the enemy to a battle when he is ſtronger, and how to avoid being compelled to one when he is

* Here is another egregrious inſtance of Plutarch's prejudice againſt the character of Pompey. It is certain that he left not Rome, till he was well convinced of the impoſſibility of maintaining it againſt the arms of Cæſar. For he was not only coming againſt it with a force much more powerful than is here mentioned; but he had rendered even a ſiege unneceſſary, by a previous diſtribution of his gold amongſt the Citizens.

weaker,

weaker, Ageſilaus underſtood that rule perfectly well, and, by obſerving it, continued always invincible. But Pompey could never take Cæſar at a diſadvantage; on the contrary, he ſuffered Cæſar to take the advantage of him, by being brought to hazard all in an action at land. The conſequence of which was, that Cæſar became maſter of his treaſures, his proviſions, and the ſea itſelf, when he might have preſerved them all, had he known how to avoid a battle.

As for the apology that is made for Pompey in this caſe, it reflects the greateſt diſhonour upon a general of his experience. If a young officer had been ſo much diſpirited and diſturbed by the tumults and clamours among his troops, as to depart from his better judgment, it would have been pardonable. But for Pompey the Great, whoſe camp the Romans called their country, and whoſe tent their ſenate, while they gave the name of rebels and traitors to thoſe who ſtayed and acted as prætors and conſuls in Rome; for Pompey, who had never been known to ſerve as a private ſoldier, but had made all his campaigns with the greateſt reputation as general; for ſuch a one to be forced, by the ſcoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and the fear of being called Agamemnon, to riſque the fate of the whole empire, and of liberty, upon the caſt of a ſingle die—who can bear it?—If he dreaded only preſent infamy, he ought to have made a ſtand at firſt, and to have fought for the city of Rome; and not, after calling his flight a manœuvre of Themiſtocles, to look upon the delaying a battle in Theſſaly as a diſhonour. For the gods had not appointed the fields of Pharſalia as the liſts in which he was to contend for the empire of Rome, nor was he ſummoned by a herald to make his appearance there, or otherwiſe forfeit the palm to another. There were innumerable plains and cities; nay, his command of the ſea left the whole earth to his choice; had he been determined to imitate Maximus, Marius, or Lucullus, or Ageſilaus himſelf.

Age-

Ageſilaus certainly had no leſs tumults to encounter in Sparta, when the Thebans challenged him to come out and fight for his dominions: Nor were the calumnies and ſlanders he met with in Egypt from the madneſs of the king leſs grating, when he adviſed that prince to lie ſtill for a time. Yet by purſuing the ſage meaſures he had firſt fixed upon, he not only ſaved the Egyptians in ſpite of themſelves, but kept Sparta from ſinking in the earthquake that threatened her: Nay, he erected there the beſt trophy imaginable againſt the Thebans; for by keeping the Spartans from their ruin, which they were ſo obſtinately bent upon, he put it in their power to conquer afterwards. Hence it was that Ageſilaus was praiſed by the perſons whom he had ſaved by violence; and Pompey, who committed an error in complaiſance to others, was condemned by thoſe who drew him into it. Some ſay, indeed, that he was deceived by his father-in-law Scipio, who, wanting to convert to his own uſe, the treaſures he had brought from Aſia, had concealed them for that purpoſe, and haſtened the action, under pretence that the ſupplies would ſoon fail. But, ſuppoſing that true, a general ſhould not have ſuffered himſelf to be ſo eaſily deceived, nor, in conſequence of being ſo deceived, have hazarded the loſs of all. Such are the principal ſtrokes that mark their military characters.

As to their voyages to Egypt, the one fled thither out of neceſſity; the other, without any neceſſity or ſufficient cauſe, liſted himſelf in the ſervice of a barbarous prince, to raiſe a fund for carrying on the war with the Greeks. So that if we accuſe the Egyptians for their behaviour to Pompey, the Egyptians blame Ageſilaus as much for his behaviour to them. The one was betrayed by thoſe in whom he put his truſt; the other was guilty of a breach of truſt, in deſerting thoſe whom he went to ſupport, and going over to their enemies.

ALEX-

ALEXANDER.

IN this volume we ſhall give the Lives of Alexander the Great, and of Cæſar, who overthrew Pompey; and as the quantity of materials is ſo great, we ſhall only premiſe, that we hope for indulgence though we do not give the actions in full detail and with a ſcrupulous exactneſs, but rather in a ſhort ſummary; ſince we are not writing Hiſtories, but Lives. Nor is it always in the moſt diſtinguiſhed atchievements that men's virtues or vices may be beſt diſcerned; but very often an action of ſmall note, a ſhort ſaying, or a jeſt, ſhall diſtinguiſh a perſon's real character, more than the greateſt ſieges or the moſt important battles. Therefore, as painters in their portraits labour the likeneſs in the face, and particularly about the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind moſt appears, and run over the reſt with a more careleſs hand; ſo we muſt be permitted to ſtrike off the features of the ſoul, in order to give a real likeneſs of theſe great men, and leave to others the circumſtantial detail of their labours and atchievements.

It is allowed as certain, that Alexander was a deſcendant of Hercules by * Caranus, and of Æacus by

* Caranus, the ſixteenth in deſcent from Hercules, made himſelf maſter of Macedonia in the year before Chriſt 794; and Alexander the Great was the twenty-ſecond in deſcent from Caranus; ſo that from Hercules to Alexander there were thirty-eight generations. The deſcent by his mother's ſide is not ſo clear, there being many degrees wanting in it. It is ſufficient to know, that Olympias was the daughter of Neoptolemus, and ſiſter to Arymbas.

Neopto-

Neoptolemus. His father Philip is ſaid to have been initiated, when very young, along with Olympias, in the myſteries at Samothrace; and having conceived an affection for her, he obtained her in marriage of her brother Arymbas, to whom he applied, becauſe ſhe was left an orphan. The night before the conſummation of the marriage, ſhe dreamed, that a thunderbolt fell upon her belly, which kindled a great fire, and that the flame extended itſelf far and wide before it diſappeared. And ſome time after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he ſealed up the queen's womb with a ſeal, whoſe impreſſion he thought was a lion. Moſt of the interpreters believed the dream announced ſome reaſon to doubt the honour of Olympias, and that Philip ought to look more cloſely to her conduct. But Ariſtander of Telmeſus ſaid, it only denoted that the queen was pregnant; for a ſeal is never put upon any thing that is empty; and that the child would prove a boy, of a bold and lion-like courage. A ſerpent was alſo ſeen lying by Olympias as ſhe ſlept; which is ſaid to have cooled Philip's affections for her more than any thing, inſomuch, that he ſeldom repaired to her bed afterwards; whether it was that he feared ſome enchantment from her, or abſtained from her embraces becauſe he thought them taken up by ſome ſuperior being.

Some, indeed, relate the affair in another manner. They tell us, that the women of this country were of old extremely fond of the ceremonies of Orpheus, and the orgies of Bacchus; and that they were called *Clodones* and *Mimallones*, becauſe in many things they imitated the Edonian and Thracian women about Mount Hæmus; from whom the Greek word *threſcuein* ſeems to be derived, which ſignifies the exerciſe of extravagant and ſuperſtitious obſervances. Olympias being remarkably ambitious of theſe inſpirations, and deſirous of giving the enthuſiaſtic ſolemnities a more ſtrange and horrid appearance, introduced a number of large tame ſerpents, which often creeping out of the ivy

ivy and the myſtic fans, and entwining about the *Thyrſuſes* and garlands of the women, ſtruck the ſpectators with terror.

Philip, however, upon this * appearance, ſent Chiron of Megalopolis to conſult the oracle at Delphi; and we are told, Apollo commanded him to ſacrifice to Jupiter Ammon, and to pay his homage principally to that God. It is alſo ſaid, he loſt one of his eyes, which was that he applied to the chink of the door, when he ſaw the god in his wife's embraces in the form of a ſerpent. According to Eratoſthenes, Olympias, when ſhe conducted Alexander on his way in his firſt expedition, privately diſcovered to him the ſecret of his birth, and exhorted him to behave with a dignity ſuitable to his divine extraction. Others affirm, that ſhe abſolutely rejected it as an impious fiction, and uſed to ſay, "Will Alexander never leave em- "broiling me with Juno?"

† Alexander was born on the ſixth of ‡ *Hecatombeon* [*July*], which the Macedonians call *Lous*, the ſame day that the temple of Diana at Epheſus was burnt; upon which Hegeſias, the Magneſian, has uttered a conceit frigid enough to have extinguiſhed the flames. "It is no wonder," ſays he, "that the "temple of Diana was burnt, when ſhe was at a "diſtance, employed in bringing Alexander into the "world." All the *Magi* who were then at Epheſus, looked upon the fire as a ſign which betokened a much

* We do not think the word φασμα relates to the dream, but to the appearing of the ſerpent.

† In the firſt year of the hundred and ſixth Olympiad, before Chriſt 354.

‡ Ælian (Var. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 25.) ſays expreſsly, that Alexander was born and died on the ſixth day of the month Thargelion. But ſuppoſing Plutarch right in placing his birth in the month Hecatombæon, yet not that month, but Boedromion then anſwered to the Macedonian month Lous; as appears clearly from a letter of Philip's, ſtill preſerved in the Orations of Demoſthenes, (In Orat. de Corona.) In after-times, indeed, the month Lous anſwered to Hecatombæon, which, without doubt, was the cauſe of Plutarch's miſtake.

greater misfortune: they ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying, "That day had brought forth "the great ſcourge and deſtroyer of Aſia."

Philip had juſt taken the city of * Potidæa, and three meſſengers arrived the ſame day with extraordinary tidings. The firſt informed him that Parmenio had gained a great battle againſt the Illyrians; the ſecond, that his race-horſe had won the prize at the Olympic games; and the third, that Olympias was brought to bed of Alexander. His joy on that occaſion was great, as might naturally be expected; and the ſoothſayers increaſed it, by aſſuring him, that his ſon, who was born in the midſt of three victories, muſt of courſe prove invincible.

The ſtatues of Alexander that moſt reſembled him, were thoſe of Lyſippus, who alone had his permiſſion to repreſent him in marble. The turn of his head, which leaned a little to one ſide, and the quickneſs of his eye, in which many of his friends and ſucceſſors moſt affected to imitate him, were beſt hit off by that artiſt. Apelles painted him in the character of Jupiter armed with thunder, but did not ſucceed as to his complexion. He over-charged the colouring, and made his ſkin too brown; whereas he was fair, with a tinge of red in his face and upon his breaſt. We read in the memoirs of Ariſtoxenus, that a moſt agreeable ſcent proceeded from his ſkin, and that his breath and whole body were ſo fragrant, that they perfumed his under-garments. The cauſe of this might poſſibly be his hot temperament. For, as Theophraſtus conjectures, it is the concoction of moiſture by heat which produces ſweet odours; and hence it is that thoſe countries which are drieſt, and moſt parched with heat, produce ſpices of the beſt kind, and in the

* This is another miſtake. Potidæa was taken two years before, viz. in the third year of the one hundred and third Olympiad; for which we have again the authority of Demoſthenes, who was Philip's cotemporary, (in Orat. cont. Leptinem,) as well as of Diodorus Siculus, L. xvi.

greateſt

greateſt quantity; the ſun exhaling from the ſurface of bodies that moiſture which is the inſtrument of corruption. It ſeems to have been the ſame heat of conſtitution which made Alexander ſo much inclined to drink, and ſo ſubject to paſſion.

His continence ſhewed itſelf at an early period. For, though he was vigorous, or rather violent in his other purſuits, he was not eaſily moved by the pleaſures of the body; and if he taſted them, it was with great moderation. But there was ſomething ſuperlatively great and ſublime in his ambition, far above his years. It was not all ſorts of honour that he courted, nor did he ſeek it in every track, like his father Philip, who was as proud of his eloquence as any ſophiſt could be, and who had the vanity to record his victories in the Olympic chariot-race in the impreſſion of his coins. Alexander, on the other hand, when he was aſked by ſome of the people about him, "Whether he would not run in the Olympic "race," (for he was ſwift of foot,) anſwered, "Yes, "if I had kings for my antagoniſts." It appears that he had a perfect averſion to the whole exerciſe of wreſtling*. For, though he exhibited many other ſorts of games and public diverſions, in which he propoſed prizes for tragic poets, for muſicians who practiſed upon the flute and lyre, and for rhapſodiſts too; though he entertained the people with the hunting of all manner of wild beaſts, and with fencing or fighting with the ſtaff, yet he gave no encouragement to boxing, or to the *pancratium* †.

Ambaſſadors from Perſia happened to arrive in the abſence of his father Philip, and Alexander receiving them in his ſtead, gained upon them greatly by his

* Philopœmen, like him, had an averſion for wreſtling, becauſe all the exerciſes which fit a man to excel in it, make him unfit for war.

† If it be aſked how this ſhews that Alexander did not love wreſtling, the anſwer is, the *Pancratium* was a mixture of boxing and wreſtling.

politeneſs and ſolid ſenſe. He aſked them no childiſh or trifling queſtion, but enquired the diſtances of places, and the roads through the upper provinces of Aſia; he deſired to be informed of the character of their king, in what manner he behaved to his enemies, and in what the ſtrength and power of Perſia conſiſted. The ambaſſadors were ſtruck with admiration, and looked upon the celebrated ſhrewdneſs of Philip as nothing in compariſon of the lofty and enterpriſing genius of his ſon. Accordingly, whenever news was brought that Philip had taken ſome ſtrong town, or won ſome great battle, the young man, inſtead of appearing delighted with it, uſed to ſay to his companions, "My father will go on conquering, till there be nothing extraordinary left for you and me to do." As neither pleaſure nor riches, but valour and glory were his great objects, he thought, that in proportion as the dominions he was to receive from his father grew greater, there would be leſs room for him to diſtinguiſh himſelf. Every new acquiſition of territory he conſidered as a diminution of his ſcene of action; for he did not deſire to inherit a kingdom that would bring him opulence, luxury, and pleaſure, but one that would afford him wars, conflicts, and all the exerciſe of great ambition.

He had a number of tutors and preceptors. Leonidas, a relation of the queen's, and a man of great ſeverity of manners, was at the head of them. He did not like the name of preceptor, though the employment was important and honourable; and, indeed, his dignity and alliance to the royal family gave him the title of the prince's governor. He who had both the name and buſineſs of preceptor, was Lyſimachus, the Acarnanian; a man who had neither merit nor politeneſs, nor any thing to recommend him, but his calling himſelf Phœnix; Alexander, Achilles; and Philip, Peleus. This procured him ſome attention, and the ſecond place about the prince's perſon.

When

When Philonicus, the Theſſalian, offered the horſe named Bucephalus in ſale to Philip, at the price of * thirteen † talents, the king, with the prince and many others, went into the field to ſee ſome trial made of him. The horſe appeared extremely vicious and unmanageable, and was ſo far from ſuffering himſelf to be mounted, that he would not bear to be ſpoken to, but turned fiercely upon all the grooms. Philip was diſpleaſed at their bringing him ſo wild and ungovernable a horſe, and bade them take him away. But Alexander, who had obſerved him well, ſaid, "What "a horſe are they loſing, for want of ſkill and ſpirit to "manage him!" Philip at firſt took no notice of this; but upon the prince's often repeating the ſame expreſſion, and ſhewing great uneaſineſs, he ſaid, "Young "man, you find fault with your elders, as if you "knew more than they, or could manage the horſe "better." "And I certainly could," anſwered the Prince. "If you ſhould not be able to ride him, "what forfeiture will you ſubmit to for your raſh"neſs?" "I will pay the price of the horſe."

Upon this all the company laughed; but the king and prince agreeing as to the forfeiture, Alexander ran to the horſe, and laying hold on the bridle, turned him to the ſun; for he had obſerved, it ſeems, that the ſhadow which fell before the horſe, and continually moved as he moved, greatly diſturbed him. While his fierceneſs and fury laſted, he kept ſpeaking to him ſoftly and ſtroking him; after which he gently let fall his mantle, leaped lightly upon his back, and got his ſeat very ſafe. Then, without pulling the reins too

* That is, 2510l. 15s. ſterling. This will appear a moderate price, compared with what we find in Varro, (de Re Ruſtic, L. iii. c. 2.) viz. that Q. Axius, a ſenator, gave four hundred thouſand ſeſterces for an aſs; and ſtill more moderate, when compared with the account of Tavernier, that ſome horſes in Arabia were valued at a hundred thouſand crowns.

† Pliny, in his Natural Hiſtory, ſays, the price of Bucephalus was ſixteen talents. *Sedecem talentis ferunt ex Philonici Pharſalii grege emptum.* Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 42.

hard, or uſing either whip or ſpur, he ſet him a going. As ſoon as he perceived his uneaſineſs abated, and that he wanted only to run, he put him in a full gallop, and puſhed him on both with the voice and the ſpur.

Philip and all his court were in great diſtreſs for him at firſt, and a profound ſilence took place. But when the Prince had turned him and brought him ſtreight back, they all received him with loud acclamations, except his father, who wept for joy, and kiſſing him, ſaid, "Seek another kingdom, my ſon, "that may be worthy of thy abilities; for Macedonia "is too ſmall for thee." Perceiving that he did not eaſily ſubmit to authority, becauſe he would not be forced to any thing, but that he might be led to his duty by the gentler hand of reaſon, he took the method of perſuaſion rather than of command. He ſaw that his education was a matter of too great importance to be truſted to the ordinary maſters in muſic and the common circle of ſciences; and that his genius, (to uſe the expreſſion of Sophocles) required

The rudder's guidance and the curb's reſtraint.

He therefore ſent for Ariſtotle, the moſt celebrated and learned of all the philoſophers; and the reward he gave him for forming his ſon was not only honourable, but remarkable for its propriety. He had formerly diſmantled the city of Stagira, where that philoſopher was born, and now he rebuilt it, and re-eſtabliſhed the inhabitants, who had either fled or been reduced to ſlavery *. He alſo prepared a lawn, called Mieza, for their ſtudies and literary converſations; where they ſtill ſhew us Ariſtotle's ſtone ſeats and ſhady walks.

Alexander gained from him not only moral and political knowledge, but was alſo inſtructed in thoſe more ſecret and profound branches of ſcience, which they call *acroamatic* and *epoptic*, and which they did not com-

* Pliny the elder, and Valerius Maximus, tell us, that Stagira was rebuilt by Alexander, and this when Ariſtotle was very old.

municate

municate to every common ſcholar *. For when Alexander was in Aſia, and received information that Ariſtotle had publiſhed ſome books in which thoſe points were diſcuſſed, he wrote him a letter in behalf of philoſophy, in which he blamed the courſe he had taken. The following is a copy of it.

"Alexander to Ariſtotle, proſperity. You did "wrong in publiſhing the *acroamatic* parts of ſcience †. "In what ſhall we differ from others, if the ſublimer "knowledge which we gained from you, be made "common to all the world? For my part, I had ra- "ther excel the bulk of mankind in the ſuperior parts "of learning, than in the extent of power and domi- "nion. Farewell."

Ariſtotle, in compliment to this ambition of his, and by way of excuſe for himſelf, made anſwer, that thoſe points were publiſhed and not publiſhed. In fact, his book of metaphyſics is written in ſuch a manner, that no one can learn that branch of ſcience from it, much leſs teach it others: It ſerves only to refreſh the memories of thoſe who have been taught by a maſter.

It appears alſo to me, that it was by Ariſtotle rather than any other perſon, that Alexander was aſſiſted in the ſtudy of phyſic. For he not only loved the theory, but the practice too, as is clear from his epiſtles, where we find that he preſcribed to his friends medicines and a proper *regimen*.

He loved polite learning too, and his natural thirſt of knowledge made him a man of extenſive reading. The Iliad he thought, as well as called, a portable treaſure of military knowledge; and he had a copy corrected by Ariſtotle, which is called ‡ *the caſket* copy.

* The ſcholars in general were inſtructed only in the *exoteric* doctrines. Vid. AUL. GELL. lib. xx. cap. 5.

† Doctrines taught by private communication, and delivered *viva voce*.

‡ He kept it in a rich caſket found among the ſpoils of Darius. A correct copy of this edition, reviſed by Ariſtotle, Calliſthenes,

Oneſicritus informs us, that he uſed to lay it under his pillow with his ſword. As he could not find many other books in the upper provinces of Aſia, he wrote to Harpalus for a ſupply; who ſent him the works of Philiſtus, moſt of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æſchylus, and the Dithyrambics of Teleſtus* and Philoxenus.

Ariſtotle was the man he admired in his younger years, and, as he ſaid himſelf, he had no leſs affection for him than for his own father: "From the one he "derived the bleſſing of life, from the other the bleſ- "ſing of a good life." But afterwards he looked upon him with an eye of ſuſpicion. He never, indeed, did the philoſopher any harm; but the teſtimonies of his regard being neither ſo extraordinary nor ſo endearing as before, diſcovered ſomething of a coldneſs. However, his love of philoſophy, which he was either born with, or, at leaſt, conceived at an early period, never quitted his ſoul; as appears from the honours he paid Anaxarchus, the fifty talents he ſent Zenocrates †, and his attentions to Dandamis and Calanus.

When Philip went upon his expedition againſt Byzantium, Alexander was only ſixteen years of age, yet he was left regent of Macedonia, and keeper of the ſeal. The ‡ Medari rebelling during his regency, he

and Anaxarchus, was publiſhed after the death of Alexander. "Darius, (ſaid Alexander,) uſed to keep his ointments in this caſ- "ket; but I, who have no time to anoint myſelf, will convert it to "a nobler uſe."

* Teleſtus was a poet of ſome reputation, and a monument was erected to his memory by Ariſtratus the Sycionian tyrant. Protogenes was ſent for to paint this monument, and not arriving within the limited time, was in danger of the tyrant's diſpleaſure; but the celerity and excellence of his execution ſaved him. Philoxenus was his ſcholar. Philiſtus was an hiſtorian often cited by Plutarch.

† The philoſopher took but a ſmall part of this money, and ſent the reſt back; telling the giver he had more occaſion for it himſelf, becauſe he had more people to maintain.

‡ We know of no ſuch people as the *Medari*; but a people called *Mædi* there was in Thrace, who, as Livy tells us, (l. xxvi.) uſed to make inroads into Macedonia.

attacked

attacked and overthrew them, took their city, expelled the Barbarians, planted there a colony of people collected from various parts, and gave it the name of Alexandropolis. He fought in the battle of Chæronea againſt the Greeks, and is ſaid to have been the firſt man that broke the *ſacred band* of Thebans. In our times an old oak was ſhewn near the Cephiſus, called *Alexander's oak*, becauſe his tent had been pitched under it; and a piece of ground at no great diſtance, in which the Macedonians had buried their dead.

This early diſplay of great talents made Philip very fond of his ſon, ſo that it was with pleaſure he heard the Macedonians call Alexander *king*, and him only *general*. But the troubles which his new marriage and his amours cauſed in his family, and the bickerings among the women dividing the whole kingdom into parties, involved him in many quarrels with his ſon; all which were heightened by Olympias, who, being a woman of a jealous and vindictive temper, inſpired Alexander with unfavourable ſentiments of his father. The miſunderſtanding broke out into a flame on the following occaſion. Philip fell in love with a young lady named Cleopatra, at an unſeaſonable time of life, and married her. When they were celebrating the nuptials, her uncle Attalus, intoxicated with liquor, deſired the Macedonians to intreat the gods that this marriage of Philip and Cleopatra might produce a lawful heir to the crown. Alexander, provoked at this, ſaid, "What then, doſt thou take me for a baſtard?" and at the ſame time threw his cup at his head. Hereupon Philip roſe up and drew his ſword; but fortunately for them both, his paſſion and the wine he had drank, made him ſtumble, and he fell. Alexander taking an inſolent advantage of this circumſtance, ſaid, "Men of Macedon, ſee there the man "who was preparing to paſs from Europe into Aſia! "he is not able to paſs from one table to another "without falling." After this inſult, he carried off Olympias,

Olympias, and placed her in Epirus. Illyricum was the country he pitched upon for his own retreat.

In the mean time, Demaratus, who had engagements of hoſpitality with the royal family of Macedon, and who, on that account, could ſpeak his mind freely, came to pay Philip a viſit. After the firſt civilities, Philip aſked him, "What ſort of agreement "ſubſiſted among the Greeks?" Demaratus anſwered, "There is, doubtleſs, much propriety in your "enquiring after the harmony of Greece, who have "filled your own houſe with ſo much diſcord and diſ-"order." This reproof brought Philip to himſelf, and through the mediation of Demaratus, he prevailed with Alexander to return.

But another event ſoon diſturbed their repoſe. Pexodorus, the Perſian governor in Caria, being deſirous to draw Philip into a league offenſive and defenſive, by means of an alliance between their families, offered his eldeſt daughter in marriage to Aridæus, the ſon of Philip, and ſent Ariſtocritus into Macedonia to treat about it. Alexander's friends and his mother now infuſed notions into him again, though perfectly groundleſs, that, by ſo noble a match, and the ſupport conſequent upon it, Philip deſigned the crown for Aridæus.

Alexander, in the uneaſineſs theſe ſuſpicions gave him, ſent one Theſſalus, a player, into Caria, to deſire the grandee to paſs by Aridæus, who was of ſpurious birth, and deficient in point of underſtanding, and to take the lawful heir to the crown into his alliance. Pexodorus was infinitely more pleaſed with this propoſal. But Philip no ſooner had intelligence of it, than he went to Alexander's apartment, taking along with him Philotas, the ſon of Parmenio, one of his moſt intimate friends and companions, and, in his preſence, reproached him with his degeneracy and meanneſs of ſpirit, in thinking of being ſon-in-law to a man of Caria, one of the ſlaves of a Barbarian king. At the

the ſame time he wrote to the * Corinthians, inſiſting that they ſhould ſend Theſſalus to him in chains. Harpalus and Nearchus, Phrygius and Ptolemy, ſome of the other companions of the prince, he baniſhed. But Alexander afterwards recalled them, and treated them with great diſtinction.

Some time after the Carian negociation, Pauſanias being abuſed by order of Attalus and Cleopatra, and not having juſtice done him for the outrage, killed Philip who refuſed that juſtice. Olympias was thought to have been principally concerned in inciting the young man to that act of revenge; but Alexander did not eſcape uncenſured. It is ſaid that when Pauſanias applied to him, after having been ſo diſhonoured, and lamented his misfortune, Alexander, by way of anſwer, repeated that line in the tragedy of Medea †,

"*The bridal father, bridegroom, and the bride.*"

It muſt be acknowledged, however, that he cauſed diligent ſearch to be made after the perſons concerned in the aſſaſſination, and took care to have them puniſhed; and he expreſſed his indignation at Olympias's cruel treatment of Cleopatra in his abſence.

He was only twenty years old when he ſucceeded to the crown, and he found the kingdom torn in pieces by dangerous parties, and implacable animoſities. The barbarous nations, even thoſe that bordered upon Macedonia, could not brook ſubjection, and they longed

* Theſſalus, upon his return from Aſia, muſt have retired to Corinth; for the Corinthians had nothing to do in Caria.

† This is the 288th verſe of the *Medea* of Euripides. To give the context—Creon ſays,

Κλυω δ' απειλειν, ως απαγγελλωσι μοι,
Τον δοντα, και γαμουντα, και γαμβρευντ'
Δρασειν τι—

The perſons meant in the tragedy were Jaſon, Creuſa, and Creon; and in Alexander's application of it, Philip is the bridegroom, Cleopatra the bride, and Attalus the father.

Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, is by Arrian called Eurydice. L. ii. c. 14.

for

for their natural kings. Philip had ſubdued Greece by his victorious arms, but not having had time to accuſtom her to the yoke, he had thrown matters into confuſion, rather than produced any firm ſettlement, and he left the whole in a tumultuous ſtate. The young king's Macedonian counſellors, alarmed at the troubles which threatened him, adviſed him to give up Greece entirely, or at leaſt to make no attempts upon it with the ſword; and to recall the wavering barbarians in a mild manner to their duty, by applying healing meaſures to the beginning of the revolt. Alexander, on the contrary, was of opinion, that the only way to ſecurity, and a thorough eſtabliſhment of his affairs, was to proceed with ſpirit and magnanimity. For he was perſuaded, that if he appeared to abate of his dignity in the leaſt article, he would be univerſally inſulted. He therefore quieted the commotions, and put a ſtop to the riſing wars among the barbarians, by marching with the utmoſt expedition as far as the Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus, king of the Triballi, and defeated him.

Some time after this, having intelligence that the Thebans had revolted, and that the Athenians had adopted the ſame ſentiments, he reſolved to ſhew them he was no longer a boy, and advanced immediately through the paſs of Thermopylæ. "Demoſthenes," ſaid he, "called me a boy, while I was in Illyricum, "and among the Triballi, and a ſtripling when in "Theſſaly; but I will ſhew him before the walls of "Athens that I am a man."

When he made his appearance before Thebes, he was willing to give the inhabitants time to change their ſentiments. He only demanded Phœnix and Prothytes, the firſt promoters of the revolt, and proclaimed an amneſty to all the reſt. But the Thebans, in their turn, demanded that he ſhould deliver up to them Philotas and Antipater, and invited by ſound of trumpet all men to join them, who choſe to aſſiſt in recovering the liberty of Greece. Alexander then gave the reins

to

to the Macedonians, and the war began with great fury. The Thebans who had the combat to maintain againſt forces vaſtly ſuperior in number, behaved with a courage and ardour far above their ſtrength. But when the Macedonian garriſon fell down from the Cadmea, and charged them in the rear, they were ſurrounded on all ſides, and moſt of them cut in pieces. The city was taken, plundered, and levelled with the ground.

Alexander expected that the reſt of Greece, aſtoniſhed and intimidated by ſo dreadful a puniſhment of the Thebans, would ſubmit in ſilence. Yet he found a more plauſible pretence for his ſeverity; giving out that his late proceedings were intended to gratify his allies, being adopted in purſuance of complaints made againſt Thebes by the people of Phocis and Plateæ. He exempted the prieſts, all that the Macedonians were bound to by the ties of hoſpitality, the poſterity of Pindar, and ſuch as had oppoſed the revolt: The reſt he ſold for ſlaves, to the number of thirty thouſand. There were above ſix thouſand killed in the battle.

The calamities which that wretched city ſuffered, were various and horrible. A party of Thracians demoliſhed the houſe of Timoclea, a woman of quality and honour. The ſoldiers carried off the booty; and the captain, after having violated the lady, aſked her whether ſhe had not ſome gold and ſilver concealed. She ſaid ſhe had; and taking him alone into the garden, ſhewed him a well, into which ſhe told him ſhe had thrown every thing of value, when the city was taken. The officer ſtooped down to examine the well; upon which ſhe puſhed him in, and then diſpatched him with ſtones. The Thracians coming up, ſeized and bound her hands, and carried her before Alexander, who immediately perceived by her look and gait, and the fearleſs manner in which ſhe followed that ſavage crew, that ſhe was a woman of quality and ſuperior ſentiments. The king demanded who ſhe was? She anſwered,

ſwered, "I am the ſiſter of Theagenes, who, in capa-"city of general, fought Philip for the liberty of "Greece, and fell at Chæronea." Alexander, admiring her anſwer, and the bold action ſhe had performed, commanded her to be ſet at liberty, and her children with her.

As for the Athenians, he forgave them, though they expreſſed great concern at the misfortune of Thebes. For, though they were upon the point of celebrating the feaſt of the great myſteries, they omitted it on account of the mourning that took place, and received ſuch of the Thebans as eſcaped the general wreck, with all imaginable kindneſs into their city. But, whether his fury, like that of a lion, was ſatiated with blood, or whether he had a mind to efface a moſt cruel and barbarous action by an act of clemency, he not only overlooked the complaints he had againſt them, but deſired them to look well to their affairs, becauſe if any thing happened to him, Athens would give law to Greece.

It is ſaid, the calamities he brought upon the Thebans, gave him uneaſineſs long after, and on that account he treated many others with leſs rigour. It is certain, he imputed the murder of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the Macedonians' daſtardly refuſal to proceed in the Indian expedition, through which his wars and his glory were left imperfect, to the anger of Bacchus, the avenger of Thebes. And there was not a Theban who ſurvived the fatal overthrow, that was denied any favour he requeſted of him. Thus much concerning the Theban war.

A general aſſembly of the Greeks being held at the Iſthmus of Corinth, they came to a reſolution to ſend their quota's with Alexander againſt the Perſians, and he was unanimouſly elected captain-general. Many ſtateſmen and philoſophers came to congratulate him on the occaſion; and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who then lived at Corinth, would be of the number.

number. Finding, however, that he made but little account of Alexander, and that he preferred the enjoyment of his leiſure in a part of the ſuburbs called Cranium, he went to ſee him. Diogenes happened to be lying in the ſun; and at the approach of ſo many people, he raiſed himſelf up a little, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. The king addreſſed him in an obliging manner, and aſked him, "If there was any thing "he could ſerve him in?" "Only ſtand a little out "of my ſun ſhine," ſaid Diogenes. Alexander, we are told, was ſtruck with ſuch ſurprize at finding himſelf ſo little regarded, and ſaw ſomething ſo great in that careleſſneſs, that, while his courtiers were ridiculing the philoſopher as a monſter, he ſaid, "If I were "not Alexander, I ſhould wiſh to be Diogenes."

He choſe to conſult the oracle about the event of the war, and for that purpoſe went to Delphi. He happened to arrive there on one of the days called inauſpicious, upon which the law permitted no man to put his queſtion. At firſt he ſent to the propheteſs, to intreat her to do her office; but finding ſhe refuſed to comply, and alleged the law in her excuſe, he went himſelf, and drew her by force into the temple. Then, as if conquered by his violence, ſhe ſaid, "My ſon, thou "art invincible." Alexander hearing this, ſaid, "He "wanted no other anſwer, for he had the very oracle "he deſired."

When he was on the point of ſetting out upon his expedition, he had many ſigns from the divine powers. Among the reſt, the ſtatue of Orpheus in * Libethra, which was of cypreſs wood, was in a profuſe ſweat for ſeveral days. The generality apprehended this to be an ill preſage; but Ariſtander bade them diſmiſs their fears. "It ſignified," he ſaid, "that Alexander would perform actions ſo worthy to

* This Libethra was in the country of the Odryſæ in Thrace. But beſide this city or mountain in Thrace, there was *the Cave of the Nymphs* of Libethra on Mount Helicon, probably ſo denominated by Orpheus.

"be

" be celebrated, that they would coſt the poets and " muſicians much labour and ſweat."

As to the number of his troops, thoſe that put it at the leaſt, ſay, he carried over thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe; and they who put it at the moſt, tell us, his army conſiſted of thirty-four thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. The money provided for their ſubſiſtence and pay, according to Ariſtobulus, was only ſeventy talents; Duris ſays, he had no more than would maintain them one month: But Oneſicritus affirms, that he borrowed two hundred talents for that purpoſe.

However, though his proviſion was ſo ſmall, he choſe, at his embarkation, to enquire into the circumſtances of his friends; and to one he gave a farm, to another a village; to this the revenue of a borough, and to that of a poſt. When in this manner he had diſpoſed of almoſt all the eſtates of the crown, Perdiccas aſked him, " What he reſerved for himſelf?" The king anſwered, " Hope." " Well," replied Perdiccas, " we who ſhare in your labours, will alſo take " part in your hopes." In conſequence of which, he refuſed the eſtate allotted him, and ſome others of the king's friends did the ſame. As for thoſe who accepted his offers, or applied to him for favours, he ſerved them with equal pleaſure; and by theſe means moſt of his Macedonian revenues were diſtributed and gone. Such was the ſpirit and diſpoſition with which he paſſed the Helleſpont.

As ſoon as he landed, he went up to Ilium, where he ſacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He alſo anointed the pillar upon Achilles's tomb with oil, and ran round it, with his friends, naked, according to the cuſtom that obtains; after which he put a crown upon it, declaring " He " thought that hero extremely happy, in having found " a faithful friend while he lived, and after his death " an excellent herald to ſet forth his praiſe." As he went

went about the city to look upon the curioſities, he was aſked, whether he choſe to ſee Paris's lyre? "I "ſet but little value," ſaid he, "upon the lyre of "Paris; but it would give me pleaſure to ſee that of "Achilles, to which he ſung * the glorious actions of "the brave."

In the mean time, Darius's generals had aſſembled a great army, and taken poſt upon the banks of the Granicus; ſo that Alexander was under a neceſſity of fighting there, to open the gates of Aſia. Many of his officers were apprehenſive of the depth of the river, and the rough and uneven banks on the other ſide; and ſome thought a proper regard ſhould be paid to a traditionary uſage with reſpect to the time. For the kings of Macedon uſed never to march out to war in the month *Daiſius*. Alexander cured them of this piece of ſuperſtition, by ordering that month to be called *the ſecond Artemiſius*. And when Parmenio objected to his attempting a paſſage ſo late in the day, he ſaid, "The Helleſpont would bluſh, if, after having "paſſed it, he ſhould be afraid of the Granicus." At the ſame time he threw himſelf into the ſtream with thirteen troops of horſe; and as he advanced in the face of the enemy's arrows, in ſpite of the ſteep banks which were lined with cavalry well armed, and of the rapidity of the river, which often bore him down or covered him with its waves, his motions ſeemed rather the effects of madneſs than ſound ſenſe. He held on, however, till, by great and ſurprizing efforts, he gained the oppoſite banks, which the mud made extremely ſlippery and dangerous. When he was there, he was forced to ſtand an engagement with the enemy hand to hand, and with great confuſion on his part, becauſe

* This alludes to that paſſage in the ninth book of the Iliad:
"Amus'd at eaſe the god-like man they found,
"Pleas'd with the ſolemn harp's harmonious ſound;
"With this he ſooths his angry ſoul, and ſings
"Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings."
POPE.

they attacked his men as faſt as they came over, before he had time to form them. For the Perſian troops charging with loud ſhouts, and with horſe againſt horſe, made good uſe of their ſpears, and, when thoſe were broken, of their ſwords.

Numbers preſſed hard on Alexander, becauſe he was eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed both by his buckler, and by his creſt, on each ſide of which was a large and beautiful plume of white feathers. His cuiraſs was pierced by a javelin at the joint, but he eſcaped unhurt. After this, Rhœſaces and Spithridates, two officers of great diſtinction, attacked him at once. He avoided Spithridates with great addreſs, and received Rhœſaces with ſuch a ſtroke of his ſpear upon his breaſt-plate, that it broke in pieces. Then he drew his ſword to diſpatch him; but his adverſary ſtill maintained the combat. Meantime, Spithridates came up on one ſide of him, and raiſing himſelf up on his horſe, gave him a blow with his battle-ax, which cut off his creſt, with one ſide of the plume. Nay, the force of it was ſuch, that the helmet could hardly reſiſt it; it even penetrated to his hair. Spithridates was going to repeat his ſtroke, when the celebrated *Clitus prevented him, by running him through the body with his ſpear. At the ſame time Alexander brought Rhœſaces to the ground with his ſword.

While the cavalry were fighting with ſo much fury, the Macedonian *phalanx* paſſed the river, and then the infantry likewiſe engaged. The enemy made no great or long reſiſtance, but ſoon turned their backs and fled, all but the Grecian mercenaries, who making a ſtand upon an eminence, deſired Alexander to give his word of honour that they ſhould be ſpared. But that Prince, influenced rather by his paſſion than his reaſon, inſtead of giving them quarter, advanced to attack them, and

* In the original it is Κλειτος ὁ μεγας, Clitus *the Great*. But in Diodorus, (502 & 503.) we find Κλειτος ὁ μελας, Clitus *the Black*; and Athenæus (539. C.) mentions Κλειτος ὁ λευκος, a Clitus *the Fair*. Plutarch, therefore, probably wrote it, ὁ μελας.

was

was ſo warmly received, that he had his horſe killed under him. It was not, however, the famous Bucephalus. In this diſpute he had more of his men killed and wounded, than in all the reſt of the battle; for here they had to do with experienced ſoldiers, who fought with a courage heightened by deſpair.

The barbarians, we are told, loſt in this battle * twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe; whereas Alexander had no more than † thirty-four men killed, nine of which were of the infantry. To do honour to their memory, he erected a ſtatue to each of them in braſs, the workmanſhip of Lyſippus. And that the Greeks might have their ſhare in the glory of the day, he ſent them preſents out of the ſpoil: To the Athenians in particular he ſent three hundred bucklers. Upon the reſt of the ſpoils he put this pompous inſcription, WON BY ALEXANDER THE SON OF PHILIP AND THE GREEKS (EXCEPTING THE LACEDÆMONIANS) OF THE BARBARIANS IN ASIA. The greateſt part of the plate, the purple furniture, and other things of that kind which he took from the Perſians, he ſent to his mother.

This battle made a great and immediate change in the face of Alexander's affairs; inſomuch that Sardis, the principal ornament of the Perſian empire on the maritime ſide, made its ſubmiſſion. All the other cities followed its example, except Halicarnaſſus and Miletus; theſe he took by ſtorm, and ſubdued all the adjacent country. After this, he remained ſome time in ſuſpence as to the courſe he ſhould take. One while he was for going, with great expedition, to riſque

* Some manuſcripts mention only ten thouſand foot killed, which is the number we have in Diodorus (505.) Arrian (p. 45.) makes the number of horſe killed, only a thouſand.

† Arrian (47.) ſays, there were about twenty-five of the king's *friends* killed; and of perſons of leſs note, ſixty horſe and thirty foot. Q. Curtius informs us, it was only the twenty-five *friends*, who had ſtatues. They were erected at Dia, a city of Macedonia, from whence Q. Metellus removed them long after, and carried them to Rome.

all upon the fate of one battle with Darius; another while he was for firſt reducing all the maritime provinces; that when he had exerciſed and ſtrengthened himſelf by thoſe intermediate actions and acquiſitions, he might then march againſt that prince.

There is a ſpring in Lycia near the city of the Xanthians, which, they tell us, at that time turned its courſe of it's own accord, and, overflowing it's banks, threw up a plate of braſs, upon which were engraved certain ancient characters, ſignifying, "That the Per-"ſian empire would one day come to a period, and be "deſtroyed by the Greeks." Encouraged by this prophecy, he haſtened to reduce all the coaſt, as far as *Phœnice and Cilicia. His march through Pamphylia has afforded matter to many hiſtorians for pompous deſcription, as if it was by the interpoſition of heaven that the ſea retired before Alexander, which, at other times, ran there with ſo ſtrong a current, that the broken rocks at the foot of the mountain very ſeldom were left bare. Menander, in his pleaſant way, refers to this pretended miracle in one of his comedies.

How like great Alexander! *do I ſeek*
A friend? Spontaneous he preſents himſelf.
Have I to march where ſeas indignant roll?
The ſea retires, and there I march.

But Alexander himſelf, in his epiſtles, makes no †miracle of it; he only ſays, "He marched from Phaſe-"lis, by the way called *Climax*."

* This Phœnice, as Palmerius has obſerved, was a diſtrict of Lycia or Pamphylia.

† There is likewiſe a paſſage in Strabo, which fully proves that there was no miracle in it. "Near the city of Phaſelis," ſays he, "between Lycia and Pamphylia, there is a paſſage by the ſea-"ſide, through which Alexander marched his army. This paſ-"ſage is very narrow, and lies between the ſhore and the moun-"tain Climax, which overlooks the Pamphylian ſea. It is dry "at low water, ſo that travellers paſs through it with ſafety; but "when the ſea is high, it is overflowed. It was then the winter "ſeaſon, and Alexander, who depended much upon his good for-"tune,

He had ſtayed ſome time at Phaſelis; and having found in the market-place a ſtatue of Theodectes, who was of that place, but then dead, he went out one evening, when he had drank freely at ſupper, in maſquerade, and covered the ſtatue with garlands. Thus, in an hour of feſtivity, he paid an agreeable compliment to the memory of a man with whom he had formerly had a connection by means of Ariſtotle and philoſophy.

After this, he ſubdued ſuch of the Piſidians as had revolted, and conquered Phrygia. Upon taking Gordium, which is ſaid to have been the ſeat of the ancient Midas, he found the famed chariot, faſtened with cords made of the bark of the cornel-tree, and was informed of a tradition, firmly believed among the Barbarians, "That the Fates had decreed the empire of "the world to the man who ſhould untie the knot." Moſt hiſtorians ſay, it was twiſted ſo many private ways, and the ends ſo artfully concealed within, that Alexander, finding he could not untie it, cut it aſunder with his ſword, and ſo made many ends inſtead of two. But Ariſtobulus affirms, that he eaſily undid it, by taking out the pin which faſtened the yoke to the beam, and then drawing out the yoke itſelf.

His next acquiſitions were Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and there news was brought him of the death of *Memnon, who was the moſt reſpectable officer

"tune, was reſolved to ſet out without ſtaying till the floods were "abated; ſo that his men were forced to march up to the middle "in water." STRAB. lib. xiv.

Joſephus refers to this paſſage of Alexander, to gain the more credit among the Greeks and Romans to the paſſage of the Iſraelites through the Red Sea.

* Upon the death of Memnon, who had begun with great ſucceſs to reduce the Greek Iſlands, and was on the point of invading Eubœa, Darius was at a loſs whom to employ. While he was in this ſuſpence, Charidemus, an Athenian, who had ſerved with great reputation under Philip of Macedon, but was now very zealous for the Perſian intereſt, attempted to ſet the king and his miniſters right. "While you, Sir," ſaid he to Darius, "are "ſafe, the empire can never be in great danger. Let me, there-

Darius had in the maritime parts of his kingdom, and likely to have given the invader moſt trouble. This confirmed him in his reſolution of marching into the upper provinces of Aſia.

By this time Darius had taken his departure from Suſa, full of confidence in his numbers, for his army conſiſted of no leſs than ſix hundred thouſand combatants; and greatly encouraged beſides by a dream, which the *Magi* had interpreted rather in the manner they thought would pleaſe him, than with a regard to probability. He dreamt, "That he ſaw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and that Alexander, in "the dreſs which he, Darius, had formerly worn, "when * one of the king's couriers, acted as his ſervant; after which Alexander went into the temple "of Belus, and there ſuddenly diſappeared." By this heaven ſeems to have ſignified, that proſperity and honour would attend the Macedonians; and that Alexander would become maſter of Aſia, like Darius before him, who, of a ſimple courier, became a king; but that he would nevertheleſs ſoon die, and leave his glory behind him.

Darius was ſtill more encouraged by Alexander's long ſtay in Cilicia, which he looked upon as the effect of his fear. But the real cauſe of his ſtay was ſickneſs, which ſome attribute to his great fatigues, and

"fore, exhort you never to expoſe your perſon, but to make "choice of ſome able general to march againſt your enemy. "One hundred thouſand men will be more than ſufficient, provi-"ded a third of them be Mercenaries, to compel him to aban-"don this enterprize; and if you will honour me with the com-"mand, I will be accountable for the ſucceſs of what I adviſe." Darius was ready to accede to the propoſal; but the Perſian grandees, through envy, accuſed Charidemus of a treaſonable deſign, and effected his ruin. Darius repented in a few days, but it was then too late. That able counſellor and general was condemned and executed. DIOD. SIC. L. xvii. CURT. L. iii.

* In the text Ασγανδης. But it appears from Heſychius and Suidas, that it ſhould be read Αστανδης. It is the Perſian word *ſtanda*, ſtator, (from *ſtade*, ſtare) with a Greek termination; and we learn from Cicero, that *ſtator* ſignifies a courier.

others

others to his bathing in the river Cydnus, whoſe water is extremely cold. His phyſicians durſt not give him any medicines, becauſe they thought themſelves not ſo certain of the cure, as of the danger they muſt incur in the application; for they feared, the Macedonians, if they did not ſucceed, would ſuſpect them of ſome bad practice. Philip, the Acarnanian, ſaw how deſperate the king's caſe was, as well as the reſt; but, beſide the confidence he had in his friendſhip, he thought it the higheſt ingratitude, when his maſter was in ſo much danger, not to riſk ſomething with him, in exhauſting all his art for his relief. He therefore attempted the cure, and found no difficulty in perſuading the king to wait with patience till his medicine was prepared, or to take it when ready; ſo deſirous was he of a ſpeedy recovery, in order to proſecute the war.

In the mean time, Parmenio ſent him a letter from the camp, adviſing him "to beware of Philip, whom, "he ſaid, Darius had prevailed upon, by preſents of "infinite value, and the promiſe of his daughter in "marriage, to take him off by poiſon." As ſoon as Alexander had read the letter, he put it under his pillow, without ſhewing it to any of his friends. The time appointed being come, Philip, with the king's friends, entered the chamber, having the cup which contained the medicine in his hand. The king received it freely and without the leaſt marks of ſuſpicion, and at the ſame time put the letter in his hands. It was a ſtriking ſituation, and more intereſting than any ſcene in a tragedy; the one reading while the other was drinking. They looked upon each other, but with a very different air. The king, with an open and unembarraſſed countenance, expreſſed his regard for Philip, and the confidence he had in his honour; Philip's look ſhewed his indignation at the calumny. One while he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, proteſting his fidelity; another while he threw himſelf down by the bed-ſide, intreating his maſter to be of good courage and truſt to his care.

The medicine, indeed, was ſo ſtrong, and overpowered his ſpirits in ſuch a manner, that at firſt he was ſpeechleſs, and diſcovered ſcarce any ſign of ſenſe or life. But afterwards he was * ſoon relieved by this faithful phyſician, and recovered ſo well that he was able to ſhew himſelf to the Macedonians, whoſe diſtreſs did not abate till he came perſonally before them.

There was in the army of Darius a Macedonian fugitive, named Amyntas, who knew perfectly well the diſpoſition of Alexander. This man, perceiving that Darius prepared to march through the ſtraits in queſt of Alexander, begged of him to remain where he was, and take the advantage of receiving an enemy, ſo much inferior to him in number, upon large and ſpacious plains. Darius anſwered, "He was afraid "in that caſe the enemy would fly without coming to "an action, and Alexander eſcape him." "If that "is all your fear," replied the Macedonian, "let it "give you no farther uneaſineſs; for he will come to "ſeek you, and is already on his march." However, his repreſentations had no effect: Darius ſet out for Cilicia; and Alexander was making for Syria in queſt of him. But happening to miſs each other in the night, they both turned back; Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and haſtening to meet Darius in the ſtraits; while Darius endeavoured to diſengage himſelf, and recover his former camp. For by this time he was ſenſible of his error in throwing himſelf into ground hemmed in by the ſea on one ſide, and the mountains on the other, and interſected by the river Pinarus; ſo that it was impracticable for cavalry, and his infantry could only act in ſmall and broken parties, while, at the ſame time, this ſituation was extremely convenient for the enemy's inferior numbers.

Thus fortune befriended Alexander as to the ſcene of action; but the ſkilful diſpoſition of his forces contributed ſtill more to his gaining the victory. As his

* In three days time.

army

army was very ſmall in compariſon of that of Darius, he took care to draw it up ſo as to prevent its being ſurrounded, by ſtretching out his right wing farther than the enemy's left. In that wing he acted in perſon, and, fighting in the foremoſt ranks, put the Barbarians to flight. He was wounded, however, in the thigh, and, according to Chares, by Darius, who engaged him hand to hand. But Alexander, in the account he gave Antipater of the battle, does not mention who it was that wounded him. He only ſays, he received a wound in his thigh by a ſword, and that no dangerous conſequences followed it.

The victory was a very ſignal one; for he killed above a hundred and ten thouſand of the enemy *. Nothing was wanting to compleat it but the taking of Darius; and that prince eſcaped narrowly, having got the ſtart of his purſuer only by four or five furlongs. Alexander took his chariot and his bow, and returned with them to his Macedonians. He found them loading themſelves with the plunder of the enemy's camp, which was rich and various; though Darius, to make his troops fitter for action, had left moſt of the baggage in Damaſcus. The Macedonians had reſerved for their maſter the tent of Darius, in which he found officers of the houſhold magnificently cloathed, rich furniture, and great quantities of gold and ſilver.

As ſoon as he had put off his armour, he went to the bath, ſaying to thoſe about him, "Let us go and "refreſh ourſelves, after the fatigues of the field, in "the bath of Darius." "Nay rather," ſaid one of his friends, "in the bath of Alexander; for the goods "of the conquered are, and ſhould be called, the "conqueror's." When he had taken a view of the baſons, vials, boxes, and other vaſes curiouſly wrought in gold, ſmelt the fragrant odours of eſſences, and ſeen the ſplendid furniture of ſpacious apartments, he

* Diodorus ſays a hundred and thirty thouſand.

turned

turned to his friends, and ſaid, "This, then, it ſeems, "it was to be a king *!"

As he was ſitting down to table, an account was brought him, that among the priſoners were the mother and wife of Darius, and two unmarried daughters; and that upon ſeeing his chariot and bow, they broke out into great lamentations, concluding that he was dead. Alexander, after ſome pauſe, during which he was rather commiſerating their misfortunes, than rejoicing in his own ſucceſs, ſent Leonatus to aſſure them, "that Darius was not dead; that they had no-"thing to fear from Alexander, for his diſpute with "Darius was only for empire; and that they ſhould "find themſelves provided for in the ſame manner as "when Darius was in his greateſt proſperity." If this meſſage to the captive princeſſes was gracious and humane, his actions were ſtill more ſo. He allowed them to do the funeral honours to what Perſians they pleaſed, and for that purpoſe furniſhed them out of the ſpoils with robes, and all the other decorations that were cuſtomary. They had as many domeſtics, and were ſerved, in all reſpects, in as honourable a manner as before; indeed, their appointments were greater. But there was another part of his behaviour to them ſtill more noble and princely. Though they were now captives, he conſidered that they were ladies, not only of high rank, but of great modeſty and virtue, and took care that they ſhould not hear an indecent word, nor have the leaſt cauſe to ſuſpect any danger to their honour. Nay, as if they had been in a holy temple, or aſylum of virgins, rather than in an enemy's camp, they lived unſeen and unapproached, in the moſt ſacred privacy.

It is ſaid, the wife of Darius was one of the moſt beautiful women, as Darius was one of the talleſt and handſomeſt men in the world, and that their daughters

* As if he had ſaid, "Could a king place his happineſs in "ſuch enjoyments as theſe?" For Alexander was not, till long after this, corrupted by the Perſian luxury.

much

much reſembled them. But Alexander, no doubt, thought it more glorious and worthy of a king to conquer himſelf, than to ſubdue his enemies, and, therefore, never approached one of them. Indeed, his continence was ſuch, that he knew not any woman before his marriage, except Barſine, who became a widow by the death of her huſband Memnon, and was taken priſoner near Damaſcus. She was well verſed in the Greek literature, a woman of the moſt agreeable temper, and of royal extraction; for her father Artabazus was *grandſon to a king of Perſia. According to Ariſtobulus, it was Parmenio that put Alexander upon this connection with ſo accompliſhed a woman, whoſe beauty was her leaſt perfection. As for the other female captives, though they were tall and beautiful, Alexander took no farther notice of them than to ſay, by way of jeſt, "What eye-ſores theſe "Perſian women are!" He found a counter-charm in the beauty of ſelf-government and ſobriety; and, in the ſtrength of that, paſſed them by, as ſo many ſtatues.

Philoxenus, who commanded his forces upon the coaſt, acquainted him by letter, that there was one Theodorus, a Tarentine, with him, who had two beautiful boys to ſell, and deſired to know whether he choſe to buy them. Alexander was ſo much incenſed at this application, that he aſked his friends ſeveral times, "What baſe inclinations Philoxenus had ever "ſeen in him, that he durſt make him ſo infamous a "propoſal?" In his anſwer to the letter, which was extremely ſevere upon Philoxenus, he ordered him to diſmiſs Theodorus and his vile merchandize together. He likewiſe reprimanded young Agnon, for offering to purchaſe Crobylus for him, whoſe beauty was famous in Corinth. Being informed, that two Macedonians, named Damon and Timotheus, had corrupted the wives of ſome of his mercenaries, who ſerved un-

* Son to a king of Perſia's daughter.

der

der Parmenio, he ordered that officer to enquire into the affair, and if they were found guilty, to put them to death, as no better than ſavages bent on the deſtruction of human kind. In the ſame letter, ſpeaking of his own conduct, he expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms; "For my part, I have neither ſeen, nor deſired to ſee, "the wife of Darius; ſo far from that, I have not "ſuffered any man to ſpeak of her beauty before me." He uſed to ſay, "That ſleep, and the commerce with "the ſex, were the things that made him moſt ſenſible "of his mortality." For he conſidered both wearineſs and pleaſure as the natural effects of our weakneſs.

He was alſo very temperate in eating. Of this there are many proofs; and we have a remarkable one in what he ſaid to Ada, whom he called his mother, and had made queen of Caria*. Ada, to expreſs her affectionate regards, ſent him every day a number of excellent diſhes and a handſome deſert; and at laſt ſhe ſent him ſome of her beſt cooks and bakers. But he ſaid, "He had no need of them; for he had been "ſupplied with better cooks by his tutor Leonidas; "a march before day to dreſs his dinner, and a light "dinner to prepare his ſupper." He added, that "the ſame Leonidas uſed to examine the cheſts and "wardrobes in which his bedding and cloaths were "put, leſt ſomething of luxury and ſuperfluity ſhould "be introduced there by his mother."

Nor was he ſo much addicted to wine as he was thought to be. It was ſuppoſed ſo, becauſe he paſſed a great deal of time at table; but that time was ſpent rather in talking than drinking; every cup introducing ſome long diſcourſe. Beſides, he never made theſe long

* This Princeſs, after the death of her eldeſt brother Mauſolus, and his conſort Artemiſia, who died without children, ſucceeded to the throne with her brother Hidreus, to whom ſhe had been married. Hidreus dying before her, Pexodorus, her third brother, dethroned her, and after his death his ſon-in-law Orontes ſeized the crown. But Alexander reſtored her to the poſſeſſion of her dominions.

meals

meals but when he had abundance of leiſure upon his hands. When buſineſs called, he was not to be detained by wine, or ſleep, or pleaſure, or honourable love, or the moſt entertaining ſpectacle, though the motions of other generals have been retarded by ſome of theſe things. His life ſufficiently confirms this aſſertion; for, though very ſhort, he performed in it innumerable great actions.

On his days of leiſure, as ſoon as he was riſen he ſacrificed to the gods; after which he took his dinner ſitting. The reſt of the day he ſpent in hunting, or deciding the differences among his troops, or in reading and writing. If he was upon a march which did not require haſte, he would exerciſe himſelf in ſhooting and darting the javelin, or in mounting and alighting from a chariot at full ſpeed. Sometimes alſo he diverted himſelf with fowling and fox-hunting, as we find by his journals.

On his return to his quarters, when he went to be refreſhed with the bath and with oil, he enquired of the ſtewards of his kitchen, whether they had prepared every thing in a handſome manner for ſupper. It was not till late in the evening, and when night was come on, that he took this meal, and then he eat in a recumbent poſture. He was very attentive to his gueſts at table, that they might be ſerved equally, and none neglected. His entertainments, as we have already obſerved, laſted many hours; but they were lengthened out rather by converſation than drinking. His converſation, in many reſpects, was more agreeable than that of moſt princes, for he was not deficient in the graces of ſociety. His only fault was his retaining ſo much of the * ſoldier, as to indulge a troubleſome vanity. He would not only boaſt of his own actions, but ſuffered himſelf to be cajoled by flatterers to an amazing degree. Theſe wretches were an intolerable

* The ancients, in their comic pieces, uſed always to put the Rhodomontades in the character of a ſoldier. At preſent the army have as little vanity, as any ſet of people whatever.

burden

burden to the reſt of the company, who did not chuſe to contend with them in adulation, nor yet to appear behind them in their opinion of their king's atchievements.

As to delicacies, he had ſo little regard for them, that when the choiceſt fruit and fiſh were brought him from diſtant countries and ſeas, he would ſend ſome to each of his friends, and he very often left none for himſelf. Yet there was always a magnificence at his table, and the expence roſe with his fortune, till it came to ten thouſand *drachmas* for one entertainment. There it ſtood; and he did not ſuffer thoſe that invited him to exceed that ſum.

After the battle of Iſſus he ſent to Damaſcus, and ſeized the money and equipages of the Perſians, together with their wives and children. On that occaſion the Theſſalian cavalry enriched themſelves moſt. They had, indeed, greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the action, and they were favoured with this commiſſion, that they might have the beſt ſhare in the ſpoil. Not but that the reſt of the army found ſufficient booty; and the Macedonians having once taſted the treaſures and the luxury of the Barbarians, hunted for the Perſian wealth, with all the ardour of hounds upon ſcent.

It appeared to Alexander a matter of great importance, before he went farther, to gain the maritime powers. Upon application, the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia made their ſubmiſſion: Only Tyre held out. He beſieged that city ſeven months, during which time he erected vaſt mounts of earth, plied it with his engines, and inveſted it on the ſide next the ſea with two hundred gallies. He had a dream in which he ſaw Hercules offering him his hand from the wall, and inviting him to enter. And many of the Tyrians dreamt, "that Apollo * declared he would go over to

* One of the Tyrians dreamt, he ſaw Apollo flying from the city. Upon his reporting this to the people, they would have ſtoned him, ſuppoſing that he did it to intimidate them. He was obliged,

"Alexander, becauſe he was diſpleaſed with their "behaviour in the town." Hereupon, the Tyrians, as if the god had been a deſerter taken in the fact, loaded his ſtatue with chains, and nailed the feet to the pedeſtal; not ſcrupling to call him an *Alexandriſt*. In another dream Alexander thought he ſaw a ſatyr playing before him at ſome diſtance; and when he advanced to take him, the ſavage eluded his graſp. However, at laſt, after much coaxing and taking many circuits round him, he prevailed with him to ſurrender himſelf. The interpreters, plauſibly enough, divided the Greek term for *ſatyr* into two, *Sa Tyros*, which ſignifies *Tyre is thine*. They ſtill ſhew us a fountain, near which Alexander is ſaid to have ſeen that viſion.

About the middle of the ſiege, he made an excurſion againſt the Arabians who dwelt about Antilibanus. There he ran a great riſque of his life on account of his preceptor Lyſimachus, who inſiſted on attending him; being, as he alledged, neither older nor leſs valiant than Phœnix. But when they came to the hills, and quitted their horſes, to march up on foot, the reſt of the party got far before Alexander and Lyſimachus. Night came on, and, as the enemy was at no great diſtance, the king would not leave his preceptor borne down with fatigue and the weight of years. Therefore, while he was encouraging and helping him forward, he was inſenſibly ſeparated from his troops; and had a dark and very cold night to paſs in an expoſed and diſmal ſituation. In this perplexity, he obſerved at a diſtance a number of ſcattered fires which the enemy had lighted; and depending upon his ſwiftneſs and activity, as well as accuſtomed to extricate the Macedonians out of every difficulty, by taking a ſhare in the labour and danger,

obliged, therefore, to take refuge in the temple of Hercules. But the magiſtrates, upon mature deliberation, reſolved to fix one end of a gold chain to the ſtatue of Apollo, and the other to the altar of Hercules. DIODOR. SIC. lib. xvii.

he

he ran to the next fire. After having killed two of the Barbarians that ſate watching it, he ſeized a lighted brand, and haſtened with it to his party, who ſoon kindled a great fire. The ſight of this ſo intimidated the enemy, that many of them fled, and thoſe who ventured to attack him, were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. By theſe means he paſſed the night in ſafety, according to the account we have from Chares.

As for the ſiege, it was brought to a termination in this manner. Alexander had permitted his main body to repoſe themſelves, after the long and ſevere fatigues they had undergone, and ordered only ſome ſmall parties to keep the Tyrians in play. In the mean time, Ariſtander, his principal ſoothſayer, offered ſacrifices, and one day, upon inſpecting the entrails of the victim, he boldly aſſerted among thoſe about him, that the city would certainly be taken that month. As it happened then to be the laſt day of the month, his aſſertion was received with ridicule and ſcorn. The king perceiving he was diſconcerted, and making it a point to bring the prophecies of his miniſters to completion, gave orders that the day ſhould not be called the thirtieth, but the twenty-eighth of the month. At the ſame time, he called out his forces by ſound of trumpet, and made a much more vigorous aſſault than he at firſt intended. The attack was violent, and thoſe who were left behind in the camp, quitted it to have a ſhare in it, and to ſupport their fellow ſoldiers; inſomuch that the Tyrians were forced to give out, and the city was taken that very day.

From thence he marched into Syria, and laid ſiege to Gaza, the capital of that country. While he was employed there, a bird, as it flew by, let fall a clod of earth upon his ſhoulder, and then going to perch on the croſs cords with which they turned the engines, was entangled and taken. The event anſwered Ariſtander's interpretation of this ſign: Alexander was wounded

wounded in the ſhoulder, but he took the city. He ſent moſt of its ſpoils to Olympias and Cleopatra, and others of his friends. His tutor Leonidas was not forgotten; and the preſent he made him had ſomething particular in it. It conſiſted of five hundred talents weight of frankincenſe, and a hundred of myrrh, and was ſent upon recollection of the hopes he had conceived when a boy. It ſeems Leonidas one day had obſerved Alexander at a ſacrifice throwing incenſe into the fire by handfuls; upon which he ſaid, "Alexander, when you have conquered the "country where ſpices grow, you may be thus liberal "of your incenſe; but, in the mean time, uſe what "you have more ſparingly." He therefore wrote thus: "I have ſent you frankincenſe and myrrh "in abundance, that you may be no longer a churl "to the gods."

A caſket being one day brought him, which appeared one of the moſt curious and valuable things among the treaſures and the whole equipage of Darius, he aſked his friends what they thought moſt worthy to be put in it? Different things were propoſed, but he ſaid, "The Iliad moſt deſerved ſuch a caſe." This particular is mentioned by ſeveral writers of credit. And if what the Alexandrians ſay, upon the faith of Heraclides, be true, Homer was no bad auxiliary, or uſeleſs counſellor, in the courſe of the war. They tell us, that when Alexander had conquered Egypt, and determined to build there a great city, which was to be peopled with Greeks, and called after his own name, by the advice of his architects he had marked out a piece of ground, and was preparing to lay the foundation. But a wonderful dream made him fix upon another ſituation. He thought, a per-

	lb.	oz.	dwt.	gr.
* The common Attic talent in Troy-weight was	56	11	00	17½
This talent conſiſted of 60 *minæ*: but there was another Attic talent, by ſome ſaid to conſiſt of 80, by others of 100 *minæ*. The *mina* was		11	7	16⅞
The talent of Alexandria was	104	0	19	14

ſon with grey hair, and a very venerable aſpect, approached him, and repeated the following lines —

High o'er a gulphy ſea the Pharian *iſle*
Fronts the deep roar of diſemboguing Nile.

POPE.

Alexander, upon this, immediately left his bed, and went to Pharos, which at that time was an iſland lying a little above the *Canobic* mouth of the Nile, but now is joined to the continent by a cauſeway. He no ſooner caſt his eyes upon the place, than he perceived the commodiouſneſs of the ſituation. It is a tongue of land, not unlike an *iſthmus*, whoſe breadth is proportionable to its length. On one ſide it has a great lake, and on the other the ſea, which there forms a capacious harbour *. This led him to declare, that "Homer, among his other admirable qualifications, "was an excellent architect," and he ordered a city

* Ὡς ȣν ειδε τοπον ευφυϊα διαφεροτα (ταινια γαρ εςιν ισθμω πλατος εχοντι συμμετρον επιειχως διειργȣσα λιμνην τε πολλην και θαλασσαν εν λιμενι μεγαλω τελευτωσαν.)

Dacier underſtands this whole paſſage (which, as he obſerves, is not without its difficulties) as a deſcription of the iſle of Pharos. It certainly was the iſle of Pharos that formed the harbour, which was a double one, and he adduces the authorities of Cæſar and Virgil to prove that point. But how did the iſle of Pharos lie between, or divide the ſea and a great lake? Dacier takes λιμνην τε πολλην και θαλασσαν to mean the ſame as λιμνωδη θαλασσαν. Alexandria, however, does certainly ſtand between the lake Marea, or Mareotis, and the Canopic branch of the Nile, which may well enough be called a ſea. And the word διειργȣσα does undoubtedly ſignify *ſeparating* or *dividing*.

Our verſion of this paſſage is, moreover, confirmed by the account which Diodorus the Sicilian gives of the ſituation of Alexandria. That hiſtorian ſays, it was ſeated very commodiouſly by the haven of Pharos; the ſtreets were ſo contrived as to admit the cooling breezes, which refreſhed the air. Alexander ordered a broad and high wall to be drawn around it, ſo as to have the ſea cloſe on one ſide, and a great lake on the other. Its form reſembled that of a ſoldier's cloak. One large beautiful ſtreet paſſed from gate to gate, being in breadth a hundred feet, in length forty furlongs, or five miles. It became in after ages ſo rich and famous, that there were on its rolls three hundred thouſand freemen. DIOD. SIC. L. xvii.

to

to be planned ſuitable to the ground, and its appendent conveniencies. For want of chalk, they made uſe of flour, which anſwered well enough upon a black ſoil, and they drew a line with it about the ſemicircular bay. The arms of this ſemicircle were terminated by ſtrait lines, ſo that the whole was in the form of a Macedonian cloak.

While the king was enjoying the deſign, on a ſudden an infinite number of large birds of various kinds, roſe, like a black cloud, out of the river and the lake, and lighting upon the place, eat up all the flour that was uſed in marking out the lines. Alexander was diſturbed at the omen; but the diviners encouraged him to proceed, by aſſuring him, it was a ſign that the city he was going to build, would be bleſt with ſuch plenty, as to furniſh a ſupply to all that ſhould repair to it from other nations.

The execution of the plan he left to his architects, and went to viſit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. It was a long and laborious journey *; and beſide the fatigue, there were two great dangers attending it. The one was, that their water might fail, in a deſert of many days journey which afforded no ſupply; and the other, that they might be ſurpriſed by a violent ſouth wind amidſt the waſtes of ſand, as it happened long before to the army of Cambyſes. The wind raiſed the ſand, and rolled it in ſuch waves, that it devoured full fifty thouſand men. Theſe difficulties were conſidered and repreſented to Alexander; but it was not

* As to his motives to this journey, hiſtorians diſagree. Arrian (L. iii. c. 3.) tells us, he took it in imitation of Perſeus and Hercules, the former of which had conſulted that oracle, when he was diſpatched againſt the Gorgons; and the latter twice, viz. when he went into Libya againſt Antæus, and when he marched into Egypt againſt Buſiris. Now, as Perſeus and Hercules gave themſelves out to be the ſons of the Grecian Jupiter, ſo Alexander had a mind to take Jupiter Hammon for his father. Maximus Tyrius (*Serm.* xxv.) informs us, that he went to diſcover the fountains of the Nile; and Juſtin (L. xi. c. 11.) ſays, the intention of this viſit was to clear up his mother's character, and to get himſelf the reputation of a divine origin.

eaſy to divert him from any of his purpoſes. Fortune had ſupported him in ſuch a manner, that his reſolutions were become invincibly ſtrong; and his courage inſpired him with ſuch a ſpirit of adventure, that he thought it not enough to be victorious in the field, but he muſt conquer both time and place.

The divine aſſiſtances which Alexander experienced in this march, met with more credit than the oracles delivered at the end of it; though thoſe extraordinary aſſiſtances, in ſome meaſure, confirmed the oracles. In the firſt place, Jupiter ſent ſuch a copious and conſtant rain, as not only delivered them from all fear of ſuffering by thirſt, but, by moiſtening the ſand and making it firm to the foot, made the air clear and fit for reſpiration. In the next place, when they found the marks which were to ſerve for guides to travellers, removed or defaced, and in conſequence wandered up and down without any certain route, a flock of crows made their appearance, and directed them in the way. When they marched briſkly on, the crows flew with equal alacrity; when they lagged behind, or halted, the crows alſo ſtopped. What is ſtill ſtranger, Calliſthenes avers, that at night, when they happened to be gone wrong, theſe birds called them by their croaking, and put them right again.

When he had paſſed the deſert, and was arrived at the place, the miniſter of Ammon received him with ſalutations from the god, as from a father. And when he enquired, "Whether any of the aſſaſſins of "his father had eſcaped him," the prieſt deſired he would not expreſs himſelf in that manner, "for his "father was not a mortal." Then he aſked, "Whe-"ther all the murderers of Philip were puniſhed; and "whether it was given the proponent to be the con-"queror of the world." Jupiter anſwered, "that he "granted him that high diſtinction; and that the "death of Philip was ſufficiently avenged." Upon this, Alexander made his acknowledgments to the god by rich offerings, and loaded the prieſts with preſents

of

of great value. This is the account moſt hiſtorians give us of the affair of the oracle; but Alexander himſelf, in the letter he wrote to his mother on that occaſion, only ſays, "he received certain private anſwers from the oracle, which he would communicate to her, and her only, at his return."

Some ſay, Ammon's prophet being deſirous to addreſs him in an obliging manner in Greek, intended to ſay, *O Paidion*, which ſignifies, *My Son*; but in his barbarous pronunciation, made the word end with an *s*, inſtead of an *n*, and ſo ſaid, *O pai dios*, which ſignifies, *O Son of Jupiter*. Alexander (they add) was delighted with the miſtake in the pronunciation, and from that miſtake was propagated a report, that Jupiter himſelf had called him his ſon.

He went to hear Pſammo an Egyptian philoſopher, and the ſaying of his that pleaſed him moſt, was, "That all men are governed by God, for in every thing that which rules and governs is divine." But Alexander's own maxim was more agreeable to ſound philoſophy: He ſaid, "God is the common father of men, but more particularly of the good and virtuous."

When among the Barbarians, indeed, he affected a lofty port, ſuch as might ſuit a man perfectly convinced of his divine original; but it was in a ſmall degree, and with great caution, that he aſſumed any thing of divinity among the Greeks. We muſt except, however, what he wrote to the Athenians concerning Samos. "It was not I who gave you that free and famous city, but your then Lord, who was called my father," meaning Philip *.

Yet long after this, when he was wounded with an arrow, and experienced great torture from it, he ſaid, "My friends, this is blood, and not the ichor,

"*Which bleſt immortals ſhed.*"

* He knew the Athenians were ſunk into ſuch meanneſs, that they would readily admit his pretenſions to divinity. So afterwards they deified Demetrius.

One day it happened to thunder in ſuch a dreadful manner, that it aſtoniſhed all that heard it; upon which, Anaxarchus the ſophiſt, being in company with him, ſaid, "Son of Jupiter, could you do ſo?" Alexander anſwered, with a ſmile, "I do not chuſe to be "ſo terrible to my friends as you would have me, "who deſpiſe my entertainments, becauſe you ſee fiſh "ſerved up, and not the heads of Perſian grandees." It ſeems the king had made Hephæſtion a preſent of ſome ſmall fiſh, and Anaxarchus obſerving it, ſaid, "Why did he not rather ſend you the heads of prin-"ces*;" intimating, how truly deſpicable thoſe glittering things are which conquerors purſue with ſo much danger and fatigue; ſince, after all, their enjoyments are little or nothing ſuperior to thoſe of other men. It appears, then, from what has been ſaid, that Alexander neither believed, nor was elated with, the notion of his divinity, but that he only made uſe of it as a means to bring others into ſubjection.

At his return from Egypt to Phœnicia, he honoured the Gods with ſacrifices and ſolemn proceſſions; on which occaſion the people were entertained with muſic and dancing, and tragedies were preſented in the greateſt perfection, not only in reſpect of the magnificence of the ſcenery, but the ſpirit of emulation in thoſe who exhibited them. In Athens perſons are choſen by lot out of the tribes to conduct thoſe exhibitions; but in this caſe the princes of Cyprus vied with each other with incredible ardour; particularly Nicocreon king

* Diogenes imputes this ſaying of Anaxarchus to the averſion he had for Nicocreon, tyrant of Salamis. According to him, Alexander having one day invited Anaxarchus to dinner, aſked him how he liked his entertainment? "It is excellent," replied the gueſt, "it wants but one diſh, and that a delicious one, the head "of a tyrant." Not the heads of the *Satrapæ*, or governors of provinces, as it is in Plutarch. If the philoſopher really meant the head of Nicocreon, he paid dear for his ſaying afterwards; for after the death of Alexander, he was forced, by contrary winds, upon the coaſt of Cyprus, where the tyrant ſeized him, and put him to death.

of

of Salamis, and Paſicrates king of Soli. They choſe the moſt celebrated actors that could be found; Paſicrates riſqued the victory upon Athenodorus, and Nicocreon upon Theſſalus. Alexander intereſted himſelf particularly in behalf of the latter; but did not diſcover his attachment, till Athenodorus was declared victor by all the ſuffrages. Then, as he left the theatre, he ſaid, "I commend the judges for what they have "done; but I would have given half my kingdom "rather than have ſeen Theſſalus conquered."

However, when Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians for not making his appearance on their ſtage at the feaſts of Bacchus, and intreated Alexander to write to them in his favour; though he refuſed to comply with that requeſt, he paid his fine for him. Another actor, named Lycon, a native of Scarphia, performing with great applauſe before Alexander, dextrouſly inſerted in one of the ſpeeches of the comedy a verſe, in which he aſked him for ten talents. Alexander laughed, and gave him them.

It was about this time, that he received a letter from Darius, in which that prince propoſed, on condition of a pacification and future friendſhip, to pay him ten thouſand talents in ranſom of the priſoners, to cede to him all the countries on this ſide the Euphrates, and to give him his daughter in marriage. Upon his communicating theſe propoſals to his friends, Parmenio ſaid, "If I were Alexander, I would accept them." "So would I," * ſaid Alexander, "if I were Parme-"nio." The anſwer he gave Darius was, "That if "he would come to him, he ſhould find the beſt of "treatment; if not, he muſt go and ſeek him."

In conſequence of this declaration he began his march; but he repented that he had ſet out ſo ſoon, when he received information that the wife of Darius was dead. That princeſs died in child-bed; and the concern of

* Longinus takes notice of this as an inſtance, that it is natural for men of genius, even in their common diſcourſe, to let fall ſomething great and ſublime.

Alexander was great, becauſe he loſt an opportunity of exerciſing his clemency. All he could do was to return, and bury her with the utmoſt magnificence. One of the eunuchs of the bed-chamber, named Tireus, who was taken priſoner along with the princeſſes, at this time made his eſcape out of the camp, and rode off to Darius, with news of the queen's death.

Darius ſmote upon his head, and ſhed a torrent of tears. After which, he cried out, "Ah cruel deſtiny "of the Perſians! Was the wife and ſiſter of their "king, not only to be taken captive, but after her "death to be deprived of the obſequies due to her high "rank!" The eunuch anſwered, "As to her obſe-"quies, O King, and all the honours the queen had a "right to claim, there is no reaſon to blame the evil "genius of the Perſians. For neither my miſtreſs, "Statira, during her life, or your royal mother, or "children, miſſed any of the advantages of their "former fortune, except the beholding the light of "your countenance, which the great Oromaſdes † will "again cauſe to ſhine with as much luſtre as before. So "far from being deprived of any of the ſolemnities of "a funeral, the queen was honoured with the tears of "her very enemies: For Alexander is as mild in the "uſe of his victories, as he is terrible in battle."

On hearing this, Darius was greatly moved, and ſtrange ſuſpicions took poſſeſſion of his ſoul. He took the eunuch into the moſt private apartment in his pavillion, and ſaid, "If thou doſt not revolt to "the Macedonians, as the fortune of Perſia has "done, but ſtill acknowledgeſt in me thy Lord; tell "me, as thou honoureſt the light of Mithra and the "right hand of the king, is not the death of Statira the "leaſt of her misfortunes I have to lament? Did not "ſhe ſuffer more dreadful things while ſhe lived?

* *Oromaſdes* was worſhipped by the Perſians as the Author of all Good; and *Arimanius* deemed the Author of Evil; agreeably to the principles from which they were believed to ſpring, Light and Darkneſs. The Perſian writers call them *Yezdan* and *Ahriman*.

"And,

"And, amidſt all our calamities, would not our diſ-
"grace have been leſs, had we met with a more rigo-
"rous and ſavage enemy? For what engagement in
"the compaſs of virtue could bring a young man to
"do ſuch honour to the wife of his enemy?"

While the King was yet ſpeaking, Tireus humbled his face to the earth, and intreated him not to make uſe of expreſſions ſo unworthy of himſelf, ſo injurious to Alexander, and ſo diſhonourable to the memory of his deceaſed wife and ſiſter; not to deprive himſelf of the greateſt of conſolations in his misfortune, the reflecting that he was not defeated but by a perſon ſuperior to human nature. He aſſured him, Alexander was more to be admired for the decency of his behaviour to the Perſian women, than for the valour he exerted againſt the men. At the ſame time, he confirmed all he had ſaid, with the moſt awful oaths, and expatiated ſtill more on the regularity of Alexander's conduct, and on his dignity of mind.

Then Darius returned to his friends; and lifting up his hands to heaven, he ſaid, "Ye gods, who are the
"guardians of our birth and the protectors of king-
"doms, grant that I may re-eſtabliſh the fortunes of
"Perſia, and leave them in the glory I found them;
"that victory may put it in my power to return
"Alexander the favours, which my deareſt pledges
"experienced from him in my fall! But if the time
"determined by fate and the divine wrath, or brought
"about by the viciſſitude of things, is now come, and
"the glory of the Perſians muſt fall, may none but
"Alexander ſit on the throne of Cyrus!" In this manner were things conducted, and ſuch were the ſpeeches uttered on this occaſion, according to the tenor of hiſtory.

Alexander having ſubdued all on this ſide the Euphrates, began his march againſt Darius; who had taken the field with a million of men. During this march, one of his friends mentioned to him, as a matter that might divert him, that the ſervants of the army

army had divided themſelves into two bands, and that each had choſen a chief, one of which they called Alexander, and the other Darius. They began to ſkirmiſh with clods, and afterwards fought with their fiſts; and at laſt, heated with a deſire of victory, many of them came to ſtones and ſticks, inſomuch that they could hardly be parted. The king, upon this report, ordered the two chiefs to fight in ſingle combat, and armed Alexander with his own hands, while Philotas did the ſame for Darius. The whole army ſtood and looked on, conſidering the event of this combat as a preſage of the iſſue of the war. The two champions fought with great fury; but he who bore the name of Alexander proved victorious. He was rewarded with a preſent of twelve villages, and allowed to wear a Perſian robe, as Eratoſthenes tells the ſtory.

The great battle with Darius was not fought at * Arbela, as moſt hiſtorians will have it; but at Gaugamela, which, in the Perſian tongue, is ſaid to ſignify *the houſe of the camel*; ſo called, becauſe one † of the ancient kings having eſcaped his enemies by the ſwiftneſs of his camel, placed her there, and appointed the revenue of certain villages for her maintenance.

In the month of *September* there happened an ‡ eclipſe of the moon, about the beginning of the feſtival of the great myſteries at Athens. The eleventh night after that eclipſe, the two armies being in view of each other, Darius kept his men under arms, and took a general review of his troops by torch-light.

* But as Gaugamela was only a village, and Arbela, a conſiderable town, ſtood near it, the Macedonians choſe to diſtinguiſh the battle by the name of the latter.

† Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, croſſed the deſarts of Scythia, upon that camel.

‡ Aſtronomers aſſure us, this eclipſe of the moon happened the 20th of September, according to the Julian calendar; and therefore the battle of Arbela was fought the 1ſt of October.

Mean-

Meantime Alexander ſuffered his Macedonians to repoſe themſelves, and with his ſoothſayer Ariſtander, performed ſome private ceremonies before his tent, and offered ſacrifices to FEAR *. The oldeſt of his friends, and Parmenio in particular, when they beheld the plain between Niphates and the Gordyæan Mountains, all illumined with the torches of the Barbarians, and heard the tumultuary and appalling noiſe from their camp, like the bellowings of an immenſe ſea, were aſtoniſhed at their numbers, and obſerved among themſelves how arduous an enterprize it would be, to meet ſuch a torrent of war in open day. They waited upon the king, therefore, when he had finiſhed the ſacrifice, and adviſed him to attack the enemy in the night, when darkneſs would hide what was moſt dreadful in the combat. Upon which he gave them that celebrated anſwer, *I will not ſteal a victory.*

It is true, this anſwer has been thought by ſome to ſavour of the vanity of a young man, who derided the moſt obvious danger: Yet others have thought it not only well calculated to encourage his troops at that time, but politic enough in reſpect to the future; becauſe, if Darius happened to be beaten, it left him no handle to proceed to another trial, under pretence that night and darkneſs had been his adverſaries, as he had before laid the blame upon the mountains, the narrow paſſes, and the ſea. For in ſuch a vaſt empire, it could never be the want of arms or men that would bring Darius to give up the diſpute; but the ruin of his hopes and ſpirits, in conſequence of the loſs of a battle, where he had the advantage of numbers and of day-light.

* In the printed text it is Φοίβῳ, *to Apollo*, but Amiot tells us, he found in ſeveral MSS. Φόβῳ, *to* FEAR. FEAR was not without her altars; Theſeus ſacrificed to her, as we have ſeen in his life: And Plutarch tells us, in the life of Agis and Cleomenes, that the Lacedæmonians built a temple to FEAR, whom they honoured, not as a pernicious Dæmon, but as the bond of all good government.

When

When his friends were gone, Alexander retired to reſt in his tent, and he is ſaid to have ſlept that night much ſounder than uſual; inſomuch, that when his officers came to attend him the next day, they could not but expreſs their ſurprize at it, while they were obliged themſelves to give out orders to the troops to take their * morning refreſhment. After this, as the occaſion was urgent, Parmenio entered his apartment, and ſtanding by the bed, called him two or three times by name. When he awaked, that officer aſked him, "Why he ſlept like a man that had already conquered, "and not rather like one who had the greateſt battle "the world ever heard of to fight?" Alexander ſmiled at the queſtion, and ſaid, "In what light can "you look upon us but as conquerors, when we have "not now to traverſe deſolate countries in purſuit of "Darius, and he no longer declines the combat?" It was not, however, only before the battle, but in the face of danger, that Alexander ſhewed his intrepidity and excellent judgment. For the battle was ſome time doubtful. The left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was almoſt broken by the impetuoſity with which the Bactrian cavalry charged; and Mazeus had, moreover, detached a party of horſe, with orders to wheel round and attack the corps that was left to guard the Macedonian baggage. Parmenio, greatly diſturbed at theſe circumſtances, ſent meſſengers to acquaint Alexander, that his camp and baggage would be taken if he did not immediately diſpatch a ſtrong reinforcement from the front to the rear. The moment that account was brought him, he was giving his right wing, which he commanded in perſon, the ſignal to charge. He ſtopped, however, to tell the meſſenger, "Parmenio muſt have loſt his ſenſes, and in his diſ-"order muſt have forgot, that the conquerors are al-"ways maſters of all that belonged to the enemy; and "the conquered need not give themſelves any concern "about their treaſures or priſoners, nor have any thing

* Ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.

"to

"to think of but how to ſell their lives dear, and die "in the bed of honour."

As ſoon as he had returned Parmenio this anſwer, he put on his helmet; for in other points he came ready armed out of his tent. He had a ſhort coat of the Sicilian faſhion, girt cloſe about him, and over that a breaſt-plate of linen ſtrongly quilted, which was found among the ſpoils at the battle of Iſſus. His helmet, the workmanſhip of Theophilus, was of iron, but ſo well poliſhed, that it ſhone like the brighteſt ſilver. To this was fitted a gorget of the ſame metal, ſet with precious ſtones. His ſword, the weapon he generally uſed in battle, was a preſent from the king of the Citieans, and could not be excelled for lightneſs or for temper. But the belt which he wore in all engagements, was more ſuperb than the reſt of his armour. It was given him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their reſpect, and old Helicon had exerted all his art in it. In drawing up his army and giving orders, as well as exerciſing and reviewing it, he ſpared Bucephalus on account of his age, and rode another horſe; but he conſtantly charged upon him; and he had no ſooner mounted him, than the ſignal was always given.

The ſpeech he made to the Theſſalians and the other Greeks, was of ſome length on this occaſion. When he found that they, in their turn, ſtrove to add to his confidence, and called out to him to lead them againſt the Barbarians, he ſhifted his javelin to his left hand; and ſtretching his right hand towards Heaven, according to Calliſthenes, he intreated the gods "to "defend and invigorate the Greeks, if he was really "the ſon of Jupiter."

Ariſtander the ſoothſayer, who rode by his ſide, in a white robe and with a crown of gold upon his head, then pointed out an eagle flying over him, and directing his courſe againſt the enemy. The ſight of this ſo animated the troops, that after mutual exhortations to bravery, the cavalry charged at full ſpeed,

ſpeed, and the *phalanx* ruſhed on like a torrent *. Before the firſt ranks were well engaged, the Barbarians gave way, and Alexander preſſed hard upon the fugitives, in order to penetrate into the midſt of the hoſt,

* Plutarch, as a writer of lives, not of hiſtories, does not pretend to give an exact deſcription of battles. But as many of our readers, we believe, will be glad to ſee ſome of the more remarkable in detail, we ſhall give Arrian's account of this.

Alexander's right wing charged firſt upon the Scythian horſe, who, as they were well armed, and very robuſt, behaved at the beginning very well, and made a vigorous reſiſtance. That this might anſwer more effectually, the chariots placed in the left wing bore down at the ſame time upon the Macedonians. Their appearance was very terrible, and threatened entire deſtruction; but Alexander's light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows, and ſtones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horſes, ſo that few reached the Macedonian line; which opening, as Alexander had directed, they only paſſed through, and were then either taken, or diſabled by his bodies of reſerve. The horſe continued ſtill engaged; and, before any thing deciſive happened there, the Perſian foot, near their left wing, began to move, in hopes of falling upon the flank of the Macedonian right wing, or of penetrating ſo far as to divide it from its centre. Alexander, perceiving this, ſent Aretas with a corps to charge them, and prevent their intended manœuvre. In the mean time, proſecuting his firſt deſign, he broke their cavalry in the left wing, and entirely routed it. He then charged the Perſian foot in flank, and they made but a feeble reſiſtance. Darius, perceiving this, gave up all for loſt, and fled.

Vide ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 13. & ſeq. ubi plura.

Diodorus aſcribes the ſucceſs which for a time attended the Perſian troops, entirely to the conduct and valour of Darius. It unfortunately happened, that Alexander, attacking his guards, threw a dart at Darius, which, though it miſſed him, ſtruck the charioteer, who ſate at his feet, dead; and as he fell forwards, ſome of the guards raiſed a loud cry; whence thoſe behind them conjectured that the king was ſlain, and thereupon fled. This obliged Darius to follow their example, who knowing the route he took could not be diſcovered on account of the duſt and confuſion, wheeled about, and got behind the Perſian army, and continued his flight that way, while Alexander purſued right forwards. DIOD. SIC. l. xvii.

Juſtin tells us, that when thoſe about Darius adviſed him to break down the bridge of the Cydnus, to retard the enemy's purſuit, he anſwered, "I will never purchaſe ſafety to myſelf "at the expence of ſo many thouſands of my ſubjects, as muſt "by this means be loſt." JUST. l. xi. c. 14.

where

where Darius acted in perſon. For he beheld him at a diſtance, over the foremoſt ranks, amidſt his royal ſquadron. Beſides that he was mounted upon a lofty chariot, Darius was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by his ſize and beauty. A numerous body of ſelect cavalry ſtood in cloſe order about the chariot, and ſeemed well prepared to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach appeared ſo terrible, as he drove the fugitives upon thoſe who ſtill maintained their ground, that they were ſeized with conſternation, and the greateſt part of them diſperſed. A few of the beſt and braveſt of them, indeed, met their death before the King's chariot, and falling in heaps one upon another, ſtrove to ſtop the purſuit; for in the very pangs of death they clung to the Macedonians, and caught hold of their horſes legs as they lay upon the ground.

Darius had now the moſt dreadful dangers before his eyes. His own forces, that were placed in the front to defend him, were driven back upon him; the wheels of his chariot were, moreover, entangled among the dead bodies, ſo that it was almoſt impoſſible to turn it; and the horſes plunging among heaps of the ſlain, bounded up and down, and no longer obeyed the hands of the charioteer. In this extremity he quitted the chariot and his arms, and fled, as they tell us, upon a mare which had newly foaled. But, in all probability, he had not eſcaped ſo, if Parmenio had not again ſent ſome horſemen to deſire Alexander to come to his aſſiſtance, becauſe great part of the enemy's forces ſtill ſtood their ground, and kept a good countenance. Upon the whole, Parmenio is accuſed of want of ſpirit and activity in that battle: Whether it was that age had damped his courage; or whether, as Calliſthenes tells us, he looked upon Alexander's power and the pompous behaviour he aſſumed, with an invidious eye, and conſidered it as an inſupportable burden *. Alexander, though vexed at being ſo ſtopt

* The truth ſeems to be, that Parmenio had too much concern for Alexander. Philip of Macedon confeſſed Parmenio to be the only

in his career, did not acquaint the troops about him with the purport of the meſſage; but under pretence of being weary of ſuch a carnage, and of its growing dark, ſounded a retreat. However, as he was riding up to that part of his army which had been repreſented in danger, he was informed that the enemy were totally defeated and put to flight.

The battle having ſuch an iſſue, the Perſian empire appeared to be entirely deſtroyed, and Alexander was acknowledged king of all Aſia. The firſt thing he did was to make his acknowledgments to the gods by magnificent ſacrifices; and then to his friends, by rich gifts of houſes, eſtates, and governments. As he was particularly ambitious of recommending himſelf to the Greeks, he ſignified by letter, that all tyrannies ſhould be aboliſhed, and that they ſhould be governed by their own laws under the auſpices of freedom. To the Platæans in particular he wrote, that their city ſhould be rebuilt, becauſe their anceſtors had made a preſent of their territory to the Greeks, in order that they might fight the cauſe of liberty upon their own lands. He ſent alſo a part of the ſpoils to the Crotonians in Italy, in honour of the ſpirit and courage of their countryman * Phaylus, a champion of the wreſtling-ring, who, in the war with the Medes, when the reſt of the Greeks in Italy ſent no aſſiſtance to the Greeks their brethren, fitted out a ſhip at his own expence, and repaired to Salamis, to take his ſhare in the common danger. Such a pleaſure did Alexander take in every inſtance of virtue, and ſo faithful a guardian was he of the honour of all great actions!

only General he knew: And on this occaſion he probably conſidered, that if the wing under his command had been beaten, that corps of Perſians would have been able to keep the field, and the fugitives rallying, and joining it, there would have been a reſpectable force which might have regained the day.

* In Herodotus, *Phoyllus*. See l. viii. 47.

He

* He traverſed all the province of Babylon, which immediately made its ſubmiſſion; and in the diſtrict of Ecbatana he was particularly ſtruck with a gulph of fire, which ſtreamed continually, as from an inexhauſtible ſource. He admired alſo a flood of *naptha*, not far from the gulph, which flowed in ſuch abundance that it formed a lake. The *naptha* in many reſpects reſembles the *bitumen*, but it is much more inflammable †. Before any fire touches it, it catches light from a flame at ſome diſtance, and often kindles all the intermediate air. The Barbarians, to ſhew the king its force and the ſubtilty of its nature, ſcattered ſome drops of it in the ſtreet which led to his lodgings; and ſtanding at one end, they applied their torches to ſome of the firſt drops; for it was night. The flame communicated itſelf ſwifter than thought, and the ſtreet was inſtantaneouſly all on fire.

There was one Athenophanes, an Athenian, who, among others, waited on Alexander when he bathed, and anointed him with oil. This man had the greateſt ſucceſs in his attempts to divert him; and one day a boy, named Stephen, happening to attend at the bath, who was homely in his perſon, but an excellent ſinger, Athenophanes ſaid to the king, "Shall we make an ex-"periment of the *naptha* upon Stephen? If it takes "fire upon him, and does not preſently die out, we "muſt allow its force to be extraordinary indeed." The boy readily conſented to undergo the trial; but

* In the original it is, *As he traverſed the territory of Babylon, he found in the diſtrict of Ecbatana*, &c. Every body knows that Ecbatana was in Media, not in the province of Babylon. The gulph here mentioned was near Arbela, in the diſtrict of *Artacene*. [See STRAB. Ed. Par. p. 737. D. & ſeq.] But Scaliger propoſes, that we ſhould read *Aractene* (from *Arec*, mentioned Gen. x. 10.) both here, inſtead of Ecbatana, and in the paſſage of Strabo above cited.

† Sunt qui et naptham bituminis generi aſcribunt. Verum ardens ejus vis ignium naturæ cognata procul omni ab uſu eſt.
PLIN. Hiſt. Nat.

as ſoon as he was anointed with it*, his whole body broke out into a flame, and Alexander was extremely concerned at his danger. Nothing could have prevented his being entirely conſumed by it, if there had not been people at hand with many veſſels of water for the ſervice of the bath. As it was, they found it difficult to extinguiſh the fire, and the poor boy felt the bad effects of it as long as he lived.

Thoſe, therefore, who deſire to reconcile the fable with truth, are not unſupported by probability, when they ſay, it was this drug with which Medea † anointed the crown and veil ſo well known upon the ſtage. For the flame did not come from the crown or veil, nor did they take fire of themſelves; but, upon the approach of fire, they ſoon attracted it, and kindled imperceptibly. The emanations of fire at ſome diſtance have no other effect upon moſt bodies, than merely to give them light and heat; but in thoſe which are dry and porous, or ſaturated with oily particles, they collect themſelves into a point, and immediately prey upon the matter ſo well fitted to receive them. Still there remains a difficulty as to the generation of this *naptha*; whether it derives its inflammable quality from ‡ * * * * * * * * * * *, or rather from the unctuous and ſulphureous nature of the ſoil. For in the province of Babylon the ground is of ſo fiery a quality, that the grains of barley often leap up and are thrown out, as if the violent heat gave a pulſation to the earth. And in the hot months the people are obliged to ſleep upon ſkins filled with water. Harpalus, whom Alexander left governor of the country, was ambitious to adorn the royal palaces and walks with Grecian trees and plants; and he ſucceeded in

* As no mention is made here of the application of fire, unleſs that be couched under the words καὶ δύσεως, we muſt ſuppoſe an electrical virtue in the *naptha*. But Plutarch ſeems to diſclaim that afterwards, in the caſe of Creon's daughter.

† Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem
Serpente fugit alite. HOR.

‡ Something here is wanting in the original.

every

every thing, except ivy. After all his attempts to propagate that plant, it died: For it loves a cold ſoil, and therefore could not bear the temper of that mold. Such digreſſions as theſe the niceſt readers may endure, provided they are not too long.

Alexander having made himſelf maſter of Suſa, found in the king's palace * forty thouſand talents in coined money, and the royal furniture and other riches were of inexpreſſible value. Among other things, there was purple of Hermione, worth five thouſand talents †, which, though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years, retained its firſt freſhneſs and beauty. The reaſon they aſſign for this, is, that the purple wool was combed with honey, and the white with white oil. And we are aſſured, that ſpecimens of the ſame kind and age are ſtill to be ſeen in all their priſtine luſtre. Dinon informs us, that the kings of Perſia uſed to have water fetched from the Nile and the Danube, and put among their treaſures, as a proof of the extent of their dominions, and their being maſters of the world.

The entrance into Perſia was difficult, on account of the roughneſs of the country in that part, and becauſe the paſſes were guarded by the braveſt of the Perſians; for Darius had taken refuge there. But a man who ſpoke both Greek and Perſian, having a Lycian to his father, and a Perſian woman to his mother, offered himſelf as a guide to Alexander, and ſhewed him how he might enter by taking a circuit. This was the perſon the prieſteſs of Apollo had in view, when, upon Alexander's conſulting her at a very early period of life, ſhe foretold, "that a Lycian "would conduct him into Perſia." Thoſe that firſt fell into his hands there, were ſlaughtered in vaſt

* Q. Curtius, who magnifies every thing, ſays fifty thouſand.

† Or five thouſand talents weight. Dacier calls it ſo many hundred weight; and the eaſtern talent was near that weight. Pliny tells us, that a pound of the double dipt Tyrian purple, in the time of Auguſtus, was ſold for an hundred crowns.

numbers. He tells us, he ordered that no quarter ſhould be given, becauſe he thought ſuch an example would be of ſervice to his affairs. It is ſaid, he found as much gold and ſilver coin there as he did at Suſa, and that there was ſuch a quantity of other treaſures and rich moveables, that it loaded ten thouſand pair of mules and * five thouſand camels.

At Perſepolis he caſt his eyes upon a great ſtatue of Xerxes, which had been thrown from its pedeſtal by the crowd that ſuddenly ruſhed in, and lay neglected on the ground. Upon this he ſtopped, and addreſſed it as if it had been alive: "Shall we leave you, ſaid he, in "this condition, on account of the war you made "upon Greece, or rear you again for the ſake of your "magnanimity and other virtues?" After he had ſtood a long time conſidering in ſilence which he ſhould do, he paſſed by and left it as it was. To give his troops time to refreſh themſelves, he ſtayed there four months; for it was winter.

The firſt time he ſate down on the throne of the kings of Perſia, under a golden canopy, Demaratus the Corinthian, who had the ſame friendſhip and affection for Alexander as he had entertained for his father Philip, is ſaid to have wept like an old man, while he uttered this exclamation, "What a pleaſure "have thoſe Greeks miſſed, who died without ſeeing "Alexander ſeated on the throne of Darius!"

When he was upon the point of marching againſt Darius, he made a great entertainment for his friends, at which they drank to a degree of intoxication; and the women had their ſhare in it, for they came in maſquerade to ſeek their lovers. The moſt celebrated among theſe women was Thais, a native of Attica, and miſtreſs to Ptolemy, afterwards king of Egypt. When ſhe had gained Alexander's attention by her flattery and humorous vein, ſhe addreſſed him over her cups in a manner agreeable to the ſpirit of her country,

* Diodorus ſays three thouſand.

but

but far above a perſon of her ſtamp. "I have under-
"gone great fatigues," ſaid ſhe, "in wandering about
"Aſia; but this day has brought me a compenſation,
"by putting it in my power to inſult the proud courts
"of the Perſian kings. Ah! how much greater plea-
"ſure would it be to finiſh the carouſal with burning
"the palace of Xerxes, who laid Athens in aſhes, and
"to ſet fire to it myſelf in the ſight of Alexander *!
"Then ſhall it be ſaid in times to come, that the wo-
"men of his train, have more ſignally avenged the
"cauſe of Greece upon the Perſians, than all that the
"generals before him could do by ſea or land."

This ſpeech was received with the loudeſt plaudits and moſt tumultuary acclamations. All the company ſtrove to perſuade the king to comply with the propoſal. At laſt, yielding to their inſtances, he leaped from his ſeat, and with his garland on his head and a flambeau in his hand, led the way. The reſt followed with ſhouts of joy, and, dancing as they went, ſpread themſelves round the palace. The Macedonians who got intelligence of this frolick, ran up with lighted torches, and joined them with great pleaſure. For they concluded, from his deſtroying the royal palace, that the king's thoughts were turned towards home, and that he did not deſign to fix his ſeat among the Barbarians. Such is the account moſt writers give us of the motives of this tranſaction. There are not, however, wanting thoſe who aſſert, that it was in conſequence of cool reflection. But all agree that the king ſoon repented, and ordered the fire to be extinguiſhed.

As he was naturally munificent, that inclination increaſed with his extraordinary acquiſitions; and

* Theſe domes were not reared ſolely for regal magnificence and ſecurity; but to aid the appetites of power and luxury, and to ſecrete the royal pleaſures from thoſe that toiled to gratify them. Thus, as this noble ſtructure was poſſibly raiſed not only for vanity but for riot; ſo probably, by vanity inflamed by riot, it fell. A ſtriking inſtance of the inſignificancy of human labours, and the depravity of human nature!

he had alſo a gracious manner, which is the only thing that gives bounty an irreſiſtible charm. To give a few inſtances: Ariſton, who commanded the Pæonians, having killed one of the enemy, and cut off his head, laid it at Alexander's feet, and ſaid, "Among us, ſir, "ſuch a preſent is rewarded with a golden cup." The king anſwered, with a ſmile, "An empty "one, I ſuppoſe; but I will give you one full of "good wine; and here, my boy, I drink to you." One day, as a Macedonian of mean circumſtances was driving a mule, laden with the king's money, the mule tired; the man then took the burden upon his own ſhoulders, and carried it till he tottered under it, and was ready to give out. Alexander happening to ſee him, and being informed what it was, ſaid, "Hold "on, friend, the reſt of the way, and carry it to your "own tent; for it is yours." Indeed, he was generally more offended at thoſe who refuſed his preſents, than at thoſe who aſked favours of him. Hence he wrote to Phocion, "That he could no longer number "him among his friends, if he rejected the marks of "his regard." He had given nothing to Serapion, one of the youths that played with him at ball, becauſe he aſked nothing. One day, when they were at their diverſion, Serapion took care always to throw the ball to others of the party; upon which, Alexander ſaid, "Why do not you give it me?" "Becauſe you "did not aſk for it," ſaid the youth. The repartee pleaſed the king much; he laughed, and immediately made him very valuable preſents. One Proteas, a man of humour, and a jeſter by profeſſion, had happened to offend him. His friends interceded for him, and he ſued for pardon with tears; which at laſt the king granted. "If you do really pardon me," reſumed the wag, "I hope you will give me at leaſt "ſome ſubſtantial proof of it." And he condeſcended to do it in a preſent of five talents.

With what a free hand he ſhowered his gifts upon his

his friends*, and thoſe who attended on his perſon, appears from one of the letters of Olympias. "You "do well," ſaid ſhe, in ſerving your friends, and it is "right to act nobly; but, by making them all equal "to kings, in proportion as you put it in their power "to make friends, you deprive yourſelf of that pri-"vilege." Olympias often wrote to him in that manner; but he kept all her letters ſecret, except one, which Hephæſtion happened to caſt his eye upon, when he went, according to cuſtom, to read over the king's ſhoulder; he did not hinder him from reading on; only, when he had done, he took his ſignet from his finger, and put it to his mouth†.

The ſon of Mazæus, who was the principal favourite of Darius, was already governor of a province, and the conqueror added to it another government ſtill more conſiderable. But the young man declined it in a handſome manner, and ſaid, "Sir, we had but one "Darius, and now you make many Alexanders." He beſtowed on Parmenio the houſe of Bagoas, in which were found ſuch ‡ goods as were taken at Suſa, to the value of a thouſand talents. He wrote to Antipater to acquaint him, that there was a deſign formed againſt his life, and ordered him to keep guards about him. As for his mother, he made her many magnificent preſents; but he would not ſuffer her buſy genius to exert itſelf in ſtate affairs, or in the leaſt to controul the proceedings of government. She complained of this as a hardſhip, and he bore her ill

* He probably means in particular the fifty young men brought him by Amyntas, who were of the principal families in Macedonia. Their office was to wait on him at table, to attend with horſes when he went to fight or to hunt, and to keep guard day and night at his chamber door.

† To enjoin him ſilence.

‡ Των περι σουσων—ιματισμων, *drapery goods*. This we take to mean ſuch like purple as was taken at Suſa, or perhaps that very purple. Dacier reads *Hephæſtion*, inſtead of *Parmenio*. The Vulcob. MS. has Σουσα, inſtead of Σουσων, which is certainly better.

humour with great mildneſs. Antipater once wrote him a long letter full of heavy complaints againſt her; and when he had read it, he ſaid, "Antipater "knows not that one tear of a mother can blot out a "thouſand ſuch complaints."

He found that his great officers ſet no bounds to their luxury, that they were moſt extravagantly delicate in their diet, and profuſe in other reſpects; inſomuch that Agnon of Teos wore ſilver nails in his ſhoes, Leonatus had many camel loads of earth brought from Egypt to rub himſelf with when he went to the wreſtling-ring, Philotas had hunting-nets that would encloſe the ſpace of a hundred furlongs, more made uſe of rich eſſences than oil after bathing, and had their grooms of the bath, as well as chamberlains who excelled in bed-making. This degeneracy he reproved with all the temper of a philoſopher. He "told them, "It was very ſtrange to him, that, "after having undergone ſo many glorious con- "flicts, they did not remember that thoſe who come "from labour and exerciſe always ſleep more ſweetly "than the inactive and effeminate; and that in com- "paring the Perſian manners with the Macedonian, "they did not perceive that nothing was more ſervile "than the love of pleaſure, or more princely than a life "of toil. How will that man," continued he, "take "care of his own horſe, or furbiſh his lance and "helmet, whoſe hands are too delicate to wait on his "own dear perſon? Know you not that the end of "conqueſt is, not to do what the conquered have "done, but ſomething greatly ſuperior?" After this, he conſtantly took the exerciſe of war or hunting, and expoſed himſelf to danger and fatigue with leſs precaution than ever; ſo that a Lacedæmonian ambaſſador, who attended him one day when he killed a fierce lion, ſaid, "Alexander, you have "diſputed the prize of royalty gloriouſly with the "lion." Craterus got this hunting-piece repreſented in bronze, and conſecrated it in the temple at Delphi.

There

There were the lion, the dogs, the King fighting with the lion, and Craterus making up to the king's aſſiſtance. Some of theſe ſtatues were the workmanſhip of Lyſippus, and others of Leochares.

Thus Alexander hazarded his perſon, by way of exerciſe for himſelf, and example to others. But his friends, in the pride of wealth, were ſo devoted to luxury and eaſe, that they conſidered long marches and campaigns as a burden, and by degrees came to murmur and ſpeak ill of the king. At firſt he bore their cenſures with great moderation, and uſed to ſay, "There was ſomething noble in hearing "himſelf ill ſpoken of while he was doing well *." Indeed, in the leaſt of the good offices he did his friends, there were great marks of affection and reſpect. We will give an inſtance or two of it. He wrote to Peuceſtas, who had been bit by a bear in hunting, to complain, that he had given an account of the accident, by letters to others of his friends, and not to him. "But now," ſays he, "let me know, how-"ever, how you do, and whether any of your com-"pany deſerted you, that I may puniſh them, if ſuch "there were." When Hephæſtion happened to be abſent upon buſineſs, he acquainted him, in one of his letters, that as they were diverting themſelves with hunting the †ichneumon, Craterus had the misfor-

* Voltaire ſays ſomewhere, that it is a noble thing to make ingrates. He ſeems to be indebted for the ſentiment to Alexander.

† The Egyptian rat, called *ichneumon*, is of the ſize of a cat, with very rough hair, ſpotted with white, yellow, and aſh colour; it's noſe like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth. It has ſhort black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards, ſerpents, ſnails, chameleons, &c. and is of great ſervice in Egypt, by it's natural inſtinct of hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increaſe of that deſtructive creature. The naturaliſts alſo ſay, that it is ſo greedy after the crocodile's liver, that, rolling itſelf up in mud, it ſlips down his throat, while he ſleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way out again.

DIOD. SIC. p. 32, 78. PLIN. l. viii. c. 24, 25.

The

tune to be run through the thighs with Perdiccas's lance. When Peuceſtas recovered of a dangerous illneſs, he wrote a letter with his own hand to Alexippus the phyſician, to thank him for his care. During the ſickneſs of Craterus, the king had a dream, in conſequence of which he offered ſacrifices for his recovery, and ordered him to do the ſame. Upon Pauſanias the phyſician's deſign to give Craterus a doſe of hellebore, he wrote to him, expreſſing his great anxiety about it, and deſiring him to be particularly cautious in the uſe of that medicine. He impriſoned Ephialtes and Ciſſus, who brought him the firſt news of the flight and treaſonable practices of Harpalus, ſuppoſing their information falſe. Upon his ſending home the invalids and the ſuperannuated, Eurylochus, the Agæan, got himſelf enrolled among the former. Soon after, it was diſcovered that he had no infirmity of body; and he confeſſed it was the love of Teleſippa, who was going to return home, that put him upon that expedient to follow her. Alexander enquired who the woman was, and being informed that, though a courtezan, ſhe was not a ſlave, he ſaid, "Eurylochus, I am willing to "aſſiſt you in this affair; but, as the woman is free "born, you muſt ſee if we can prevail upon her by "preſents and courtſhip."

It is ſurpriſing, that he had time or inclination to write letters about ſuch unimportant affairs of his friends, as to give orders for diligent ſearch to be made in Cilicia for Seleucus's run-away ſlave; to commend Peuceſtas for having ſeized Nicon, a ſlave that belonged to Craterus; and to direct Megabyzus, if poſſible, to draw another ſlave from his aſylum, and take him, but not to touch him while he remained in the temple.

It is ſaid, that in the firſt years of his reign, when capital cauſes were brought before him, he uſed to ſtop

The Egyptians worſhiped the ichneumon for deſtroying the crocodiles: They worſhiped the crocodile, too, probably as the Indians do the devil, that it might do them no hurt.

one

one of his ears with his hand, while the plaintiff was opening the indictment, that he might reſerve it perfectly unprejudiced for hearing the defendant. But the many falſe informations which were afterwards lodged, and which, by means of ſome true circumſtances, were ſo repreſented as to give an air of truth to the whole, broke his temper. Particularly in caſe of aſperſions upon his own character, his reaſon forſook him, and he became extremely and inflexibly ſevere; as preferring his reputation to life and empire.

When he marched againſt Darius again, he expected another battle. But upon intelligence that Beſſus had ſeized the perſon of that prince, he diſmiſſed the Theſſalians, and ſent them home, after he had given them a gratuity of two thouſand talents, over and above their pay. The purſuit was long and laborious, for he rode three thouſand three hundred furlongs in eleven days*. As they often ſuffered more for want of water than by fatigue, many of the cavalry were unable to hold out. While they were upon the march, ſome Macedonians had filled their bottles at a river, and were bringing the water upon mules. Theſe people ſeeing Alexander greatly diſtreſſed with thirſt, (for it was in the heat of the day) immediately filled a helmet with water, and preſented it to him. He aſked them to whom they were carrying it? and they ſaid, "Their ſons: But if our "prince does but live, we ſhall get other children, "if we loſe them." Upon this, he took the helmet in his hands; but looking round, and ſeeing all the horſemen bending their heads, and fixing their eyes upon the water, he returned it without drinking. However, he praiſed the people that offered it, and

* As this was no more than forty miles a day, our Newmarket heroes would have beat Alexander hollow. It is nothing when compared to Charles the Twelth's march from Bender through Germany, nothing to the expedition of Hannibal along the African coaſt.

ſaid,

ſaid, "If I alone drink, theſe good men will be diſ-
"pirited*." The cavalry, who were witneſſes to this act of temperance and magnanimity, cried out, "Let "us march! We are neither weary nor thirſty; nor "ſhall we even think ourſelves mortal, while under "the conduct of ſuch a king." At the ſame time they put ſpurs to their horſes.

They had all the ſame affection to the cauſe, but only ſixty were able to keep up with him till he reached the enemy's camp. There they rode over the gold and ſilver that lay ſcattered about, and paſſing by a number of carriages full of women and children, which were in motion, but without charioteers, they haſtened to the leading ſquadrons, not doubting that they ſhould find Darius among them. At laſt, after much ſearch, they found him extended on his chariot, and pierced with many darts. Though he was near his laſt moments, he had ſtrength to aſk for ſomething to quench his thirſt. A Macedonian, named Polyſtratus, brought him ſome cold water, and when he had drank, he ſaid, "Friend, this fills up the meaſure "of my misfortunes, to think I am not able to reward "thee for this act of kindneſs. But Alexander will "not let thee go without a recompenſe; and the gods "will reward Alexander for his humanity to my mo-"ther, to my wife and children. Tell him I gave "him my hand, for I give it thee in his ſtead." So ſaying, he took the hand of Polyſtratus, and immediately expired. When Alexander came up, he ſhewed his concern for that event by the ſtrongeſt expreſſions, and covered the body with his own robe.

Beſſus afterwards fell into his hands, and he puniſhed his parricide in this manner. He cauſed two ſtrait trees to be bent, and one of his legs to be made faſt to each; then ſuffering the trees to return to their

* Lucan has embelliſhed this ſtory for Cato, and has poſſibly introduced it merely upon imitation.

former

former poſture, his body was torn aſunder by the violence of the recoil *.

As for the body of Darius, he ordered it ſhould have all the honours of a royal funeral, and ſent it embalmed to his mother. Oxathres, that prince's brother, he admitted into the number of his friends.

His next movement was into Hyrcania, which he entered with the flower of his army. There he took a view of the Caſpian ſea, which appeared to him not leſs than the Euxine, but its water was of a ſweeter taſte. He could get no certain information in what manner it was formed, but he conjectured that it came from an outlet of the Palus Mæotis. Yet the ancient Naturaliſts were not ignorant of its origin; for, many years before Alexander's expedition, they wrote, that there are four ſeas which ſtretch from the main ocean into the continent, the fartheſt north of which is the Hyrcanian or the Caſpian †. The Barbarians here fell ſuddenly upon a party who were leading his horſe Bucephalus, and took him. This provoked him ſo much, that he ſent a herald to threaten them, their wives and children, with utter extermination, if they did not reſtore him the horſe. But, upon their bringing him back, and ſurrendering to him their cities, he treated them with great clemency, and paid a conſiderable ſum, by way of ranſom, to thoſe that took the horſe.

From thence he marched into Parthia; where finding no employment for his arms, he firſt put on the robe of the Barbarian kings: Whether it was that he conformed a little to their cuſtoms, becauſe he knew how much a ſimilarity of manners tends to reconcile and gain mens hearts; or whether it was by way of

* Q. Curtius tells us, Alexander delivered up the aſſaſſin to Oxathres, the brother of Darius; in conſequence of which he had his noſe and ears cut off, and was faſtened to a croſs, where he was diſpatched with darts and arrows.

† This is an error which Pliny too has followed. The Caſpian ſea has no communication with the ocean.

experi-

experiment, to ſee if the Macedonians might be brought to pay him the greater deference, by accuſtoming them inſenſibly to the new Barbaric attire and port which he aſſumed. However, he thought the Median habit made too ſtiff and exotic an appearance, and therefore took not the long breeches, or the ſweeping train, or the *tiara*; but adopting ſomething between the Median and Perſian mode, contrived veſtments leſs pompous than the former, and more majeſtic than the latter. At firſt he uſed this dreſs only before the Barbarians, or his particular friends within doors; but in time he came to wear it when he appeared in public, and ſate for the diſpatch of buſineſs. This was a mortifying ſight to the Macedonians: Yet, as they admired his other virtues, they thought he might be ſuffered to pleaſe himſelf a little, and enjoy his vanity. Some indulgence ſeemed due to a prince, who, beſide his other hardſhips, had lately been wounded in the leg with an arrow, which ſhattered the bone in ſuch a manner, that ſplinters were taken out; who, another time, had ſuch a violent blow from a ſtone upon the nape of his neck, that an alarming darkneſs covered his eyes, and continued for ſome time; and yet continued to expoſe his perſon without the leaſt precaution. On the contrary, when he had paſſed the Orexartes, which he ſuppoſed to be the Tanais, he not only attacked the Scythians and routed them, but purſued them a hundred furlongs, in ſpite of what he ſuffered at that time from a flux.

There the queen of the Amazons came to viſit him, as Clitarchus, Policritus, Oneſicritus, Antigenes, Iſter, and many other hiſtorians, report. But Ariſtobulus, Chares * of Theangela, Ptolemy, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip who was alſo of Theangela, as well as

* In the Greek text it is σωσαγγελευς, both here and juſt after. Σωσαγγελευς ſignifies a gentleman uſher; but it does not appear that either Chares or Philip ever held ſuch an office. It is certain Θεαγγελευς is the right reading, from Athenæus, Book vi. p. 271, where he mentions Philip as belonging to Theangela in Caria.

Heca-

Hecatæus of Eretria, Philip of Chalcis, and Duris of Samos, treat the ſtory as a fiction. And indeed Alexander himſelf ſeems to ſupport their opinion. For in one of his letters to Antipater, to whom he gave an exact detail of all that paſſed, he ſays, the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes not the leaſt mention of the Amazon. Nay, when Oneſicritus, many years after, read to Lyſimachus, then king, the fourth book of his hiſtory, in which this ſtory was introduced, he ſmiled and ſaid, "Where was I at that time?" But whether we give credit to this particular, or not, is a matter that will neither add to nor leſſen our opinion of Alexander.

As he was afraid that many of the Macedonians might diſlike the remaining fatigues of the expedition, he left the greateſt part of the army in quarters, and entered Hyrcania with a ſelect body of twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe. The purport of his ſpeech upon the occaſion was this: "Hitherto the "Barbarians have ſeen us only as in a dream. If you "ſhould think of returning, after having given Aſia "the alarm only, they will fall upon you with con-"tempt as unenterprizing and effeminate. Neverthe-"leſs, ſuch as deſire to depart have my conſent for it: "But, at the ſame time, I call the gods to witneſs, "that they deſert their king when he is conquering "the world for the Macedonians, and leave him to "the kinder and more faithful attachment of thoſe "few friends that will follow his fortune." This is almoſt word for word the ſame with what he wrote to Antipater; and he adds, "That he had no ſooner "done ſpeaking, than they cried, he might lead them "to what part of the world he pleaſed." Thus he tried the diſpoſition of theſe brave men; and there was no difficulty in bringing the whole body into their ſentiments; they followed of courſe.

After this, he accommodated himſelf more than ever to the manners of the Aſiatics, and at the ſame time perſuaded them to adopt ſome of the Macedonian faſhions;

faſhions; for by a mixture of both, he thought an union might be promoted, much better than by force, and his authority maintained when he was at a diſtance. For the ſame reaſon he ſelected thirty thouſand boys, and gave them maſters to inſtruct them in the Grecian literature, as well as to train them to arms in the Macedonian manner.

As for his marriage with Roxana, it was entirely the effect of love. He ſaw her at an entertainment, and found her charms irreſiſtible. Nor was the match unſuitable to the ſituation of his affairs. The Barbarians placed greater confidence in him on account of that alliance, and his chaſtity gained their affection; it delighted them to think, he would not approach the only woman he ever paſſionately loved, without the ſanction of marriage.

Hephæſtion and Craterus were his two favourites. The former praiſed the Perſian faſhions, and dreſſed as he did; the latter adhered to the cuſtoms of his own country. He therefore employed Hephæſtion in his tranſactions with the Barbarians, and Craterus to ſignify his pleaſure to the Greeks and Macedonians. The one had more of his love, and the other more of his eſteem. He was perſuaded indeed, and he often ſaid, "Hephæſtion loved Alexander, and Craterus the "king." Hence aroſe private animoſities, which did not fail to break out upon occaſion. One day, in India, they drew their ſwords, and came to blows. The friends of each were joining in the quarrel, when Alexander interpoſed. He told Hephæſtion publicly, "he was a fool and a madman, not to be ſenſi-"ble, that without his maſter's favour he would be "nothing." He gave Craterus alſo a ſevere reprimand in private; and after having brought them together again, and reconciled them, he ſwore by Jupiter Ammon, and all the other gods, "That he loved "them more than all the men in the world: But, if "he perceived them at variance again, he would put "them both to death, or him, at leaſt, who began the "quarrel."

"quarrel." This is ſaid to have had ſuch an effect upon them, that they never expreſſed any diſlike to each other, even in jeſt, afterwards.

Among the Macedonians, Philotas, the ſon of Parmenio, had great authority. For he was not only valiant and indefatigable in the field, but after Alexander, no man loved his friend more, or had a greater ſpirit of generoſity. We are told, that a friend of his one day requeſted a ſum of money, and he ordered it to be given him. The ſteward ſaid, he had it not to give. "What!" ſays Philotas, "haſt thou not "plate, or ſome other moveable?" However, he affected an oſtentation of wealth, and a magnificence in his dreſs and table, that was above the condition of a ſubject. Beſides, the loftineſs of his port was altogether extravagant; not tempered with any natural graces, but formal and uncouth, it expoſed him both to hatred and ſuſpicion; inſomuch that Parmenio one day ſaid to him, "My ſon, be leſs." He had long been repreſented in an invidious light to Alexander. When Damaſcus, with all its riches, was taken, upon the defeat of Darius in Cilicia, among the number of captives that were brought to the camp, there was a beautiful young woman, called Antigone, a native of Pydna, who fell to the ſhare of Philotas. Like a young ſoldier with a favourite miſtreſs, in his cups he indulged his vanity, and let many indiſcreet things eſcape him; attributing all the great actions of the war to himſelf and to his father. As for Alexander, he called him a boy, who by their means enjoyed the title of a conqueror. The woman told theſe things in confidence to one of her acquaintance, and he (as is common) mentioned them to another. At laſt, they came to the ear of Craterus, who took the woman privately before Alexander. When the king had heard the whole from her own mouth, he ordered her to go as uſual to Philotas, but to make her report to him of all that he ſaid. Philotas, ignorant of the

ſnares that were laid for him, converſed with the woman without the leaſt reſerve, and either in his reſentment or pride uttered many unbecoming things againſt Alexander. That prince, though he had ſufficient proof againſt Philotas, kept the matter private, and diſcovered no tokens of averſion; whether it was that he confided in Parmenio's attachment to him, or whether he was afraid of the power and intereſt of the family.

About this time, a Macedonian, named * Limnus, a native of Chalæſtra, conſpired againſt Alexander's life, and communicated his deſign to one Nicomachus, a youth that he was fond of; deſiring him to take a part in the enterprize. Nicomachus, inſtead of embracing the propoſal, informed his brother † Balinus of the plot, who went immediately to Philotas, and deſired him to introduce them to Alexander; aſſuring him it was upon buſineſs of great importance. Whatever might be his reaſon (for it is not known) Philotas refuſed them admittance, on pretence that Alexander had other great engagements then upon his hands. They applied again, and met with a denial. By this time they entertained ſome ſuſpicion of Philotas, and addreſſed themſelves to ‡ Metron, who introduced them to the king immediately. They informed him firſt of the conſpiracy of Limnus, and then hinted to him their ſuſpicions of Philotas, on account of his rejecting two ſeveral applications.

Alexander was incenſed at this negligence; and when he found that the perſon who was ſent to arreſt Limnus, had § killed him becauſe he ſtood upon his

* It ſhould, undoubtedly, be read *Dymnus*, as Q. Curtius and Diodorus have it, Nothing is eaſier than for a tranſcriber to change the Δ into a Λ.

† Q. Curtius calls him *Cebalinus*.

‡ In the printed text it is ἑτέρου; but one of the manuſcripts gives us Μετρῶνα, which agrees with Curtius. Some name ſeems to be wanting, and Metron was a conſiderable office of the king's houſhold, maſter of the wardrobe.

§ Other authors ſay, he killed himſelf.

defence

defence and refuſed to be taken, it diſturbed him ſtill more, to think he had loſt the means of diſcovering his accomplices. His reſentment againſt Philotas, gave opportunity to thoſe who had long hated that officer, to avow their diſlike, and to declare, how much the king was to blame in ſuffering himſelf to be ſo eaſily impoſed upon, as to think that Limnus, an inſignificant Chalæſtrean, durſt engage, of his own accord, in ſuch a bold deſign. "No doubt," ſaid they, "he was "the agent, or rather the inſtrument, of ſome ſuperior "hand; and the king ſhould trace out the ſource of "the conſpiracy among thoſe who have the moſt in-"tereſt in having it concealed."

As he began to liſten to theſe diſcourſes, and to give way to his ſuſpicions, it brought innumerable accuſations againſt Philotas, ſome of them very groundleſs. He was apprehended and put to the torture, in preſence of the great officers of the court. Alexander had placed himſelf behind the tapeſtry to hear the examination; and when he found that Philotas bemoaned himſelf in ſuch a lamentable manner, and had recourſe to ſuch mean ſupplications to Hephæſtion, he is reported to have ſaid, "O Philotas, durſt thou, with all this "unmanly weakneſs, embark in ſo great and hazar-"dous an enterprize?"

After the execution of Philotas, he immediately ſent orders into Media that Parmenio ſhould be put to death; a man who had a ſhare in moſt of Philip's conqueſts, and who was the principal, if not the only one, of the old counſellors, who put Alexander upon his expedition into Aſia. Of three ſons whom he took over with him, he had ſeen two ſlain in battle, and with the third he fell a ſacrifice himſelf. Theſe proceedings made Alexander terrible to his friends, particularly to Antipater. That regent, therefore, ſent privately to the Ætolians, and entered into league with them. They had ſomething to fear from Alexander, as well as he, for they had ſacked the city of the Œniades; and when the king was informed of it, he

ſaid, "The children of the Œniades need not revenge "their cauſe; I will puniſh the Ætolians myſelf."

Soon after this, happened the affair of Clitus; which, however ſimply related, is much more ſhocking than the execution of Philotas. Yet, if we reflect on the occaſion and circumſtances of the thing, we ſhall conclude it was a misfortune, rather than a deliberate act, and that Alexander's unhappy paſſion and intoxication only furniſhed the evil genius of Clitus with the means of accompliſhing his deſtruction. It happened in the following manner. The king had ſome Grecian fruit brought him from on board a veſſel, and as he greatly admired its freſhneſs and beauty, he deſired Clitus to ſee it, and partake of it. It happened that Clitus was offering ſacrifice that day; but he left it to wait upon the king. Three of the ſheep on which the libation was already poured, followed him. The king, informed of that accident, conſulted his ſoothſayers, Ariſtander, and Cleomantis the Spartan, upon it; and they aſſured him it was a very bad omen. He, therefore, ordered the victims to be immediately offered for the health of Clitus; the rather, becauſe three days before he had a ſtrange and alarming dream, in which Clitus appeared in mourning, ſitting by the dead ſons of Parmenio. However, before the ſacrifice was finiſhed, Clitus went to ſup with the king, who that day had been paying his homage to Caſtor and Pollux.

After they were warmed with drinking, ſomebody began to ſing the verſes of one Pranicus, or, as others will have it, of Pierio, written in ridicule of the Macedonian officers who had lately been beaten by the Barbarians. The older part of the company were greatly offended at it, and condemned both the poet and the ſinger; but Alexander, and thoſe about him, liſtened with pleaſure, and bade him go on. Clitus, who by this time had drank too much, and was naturally rough and froward, could not bear their behaviour. He ſaid, "It was not well done, to make a

"jeſt

"jeſt, and that among Barbarians and enemies, of "of Macedonians that were much better men than "the laughers, though they had met with a misfor-"tune." Alexander made anſwer, "That Clitus was "pleading his own cauſe, when he gave cowardice the "ſoft name of misfortune." Then Clitus ſtarted up, and ſaid, "Yet it was this cowardice that ſaved you, "ſon of Jupiter as you are, when you were turning your "back to the ſword of Spithridates. It is by the blood "of the Macedonians and theſe wounds that you are "grown ſo great, that you diſdain to acknowledge "Philip for your father, and will needs paſs yourſelf "for the ſon of Jupiter Ammon."

Irritated at this inſolence, Alexander replied, "It "is in this villainous manner thou talkeſt of me in all "companies, and ſtirreſt up the Macedonians to mu-"tiny; but doſt thou think to enjoy it long?" "And "what do we enjoy now?" ſaid Clitus, "What re-"ward have we for all our toils? Do we not envy "thoſe who did not live to ſee Macedonians bleed un-"der Median rods, or ſue to Perſians for acceſs to "their king?" While Clitus went on in this raſh manner, and the king retorted upon him with equal bitterneſs, the old men interpoſed, and endeavoured to allay the flame. Meantime Alexander turned to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, and ſaid, "Do not the Greeks appear to you among "the Macedonians like demigods among ſo many "wild-beaſts?" Clitus, far from giving up the diſpute, called upon Alexander "to ſpeak out what he "had to ſay, or not to invite freemen to his table, "who would declare their ſentiments without reſerve. "But perhaps," continued he, "it were better to paſs "your life with Barbarians and ſlaves, who will wor-"ſhip your Perſian girdle and white robe without "ſcruple."

Alexander, no longer able to reſtrain his anger, threw an apple at his face, and then looked about

for his ſword. But Ariſtophanes *, one of his guards, had taken it away in time, and the company gathered about him, and intreated him to be quiet. Their remonſtrances, however, were vain. He broke from them, and called out, in the Macedonian language, for his guards, which was the ſignal of a great tumult. At the ſame time he ordered the trumpeter to ſound, and ſtruck him with his fiſt, upon his diſcovering an unwillingneſs to obey. This man was afterwards held in great eſteem, becauſe he prevented the whole army from being alarmed.

As Clitus would not make the leaſt ſubmiſſion, his friends, with much ado, forced him out of the room. But he ſoon returned by another door, repeating, in a bold and diſreſpectful tone, thoſe verſes from the Andromache of Euripides.

Are theſe your cuſtoms? Is it thus that Greece
Rewards her combatants? † *Shall one man claim*
The trophies won by thouſands?

Then Alexander ſnatched a ſpear from one of the guards, and meeting Clitus as he was putting by the curtain, ran him through the body. He fell immediately to the ground, and with a diſmal groan expired.

Alexander's rage ſubſided in a moment; he came to himſelf; and ſeeing his friends ſtanding in ſilent aſtoniſhment by him, he haſtily drew the ſpear out of the dead body, and was applying it to his own throat, when his guards ſeized his hands, and carried him by force into his chamber. He paſſed that night and the next day in anguiſh inexpreſſible; and when he had waſted himſelf with tears and lamentations, he lay in ſpeechleſs grief, uttering only now and then a groan. His friends, alarmed at this melancholy ſilence, forced themſelves into the room, and attempted to conſole

* Q. Curtius and Arrian call him Ariſtonus.

† This is the ſpeech of Peleus to Menelaus.

him.

him. But he would liſten to none of them, except Ariſtander, who put him in mind of his dream and the ill-omen of the ſheep, and aſſured him, that the whole was by the decree of Fate. As he ſeemed a little comforted, Caliſthenes the philoſopher, Ariſtotle's near relation, and Anaxarchus the Abderite, were called in *. Calliſthenes began in a ſoft and tender manner, endeavouring to relieve him without ſearching the wound. But Anaxarchus, who had a particular walk in philoſophy, and looked upon his fellow-labourers in ſcience with contempt, cried out, on entering the room, "Is this Alexander upon whom the whole world have their eyes? Can it be he who lies extended on the ground, crying like a ſlave, in fear of the law and the tongues of men, to whom he ſhould himſelf be a law, and the meaſure of right and wrong? What did he conquer for but to rule and to command, not ſervilely to ſubmit to the vain opinions of men: Know you not," continued he, "that Jupiter is repreſented with Themis and Juſtice by his ſide, to ſhew, that whatever is done by † ſupreme power is right?" By this, and other diſcourſes of the ſame kind, he alleviated the king's grief indeed, but made him, withal, more haughty and unjuſt. At the ſame time, he inſinuated himſelf into his favour in ſo extraordinary a manner, that he could no longer bear the converſation of Calliſthenes, who before was not very agreeable, on account of his auſterity.

One day, a diſpute had ariſen at table about the ſeaſons and the temperature of the climate. Calliſthe-

* Calliſthenes was of the city of Olynthus, and had been recommended to Alexander by Ariſtotle, whoſe relation he was. He had too much of the ſpirit of liberty, to be fit for a Court. He did not ſhew it, however, in this inſtance. Ariſtotle forewarned him, that if he went on to treat the King with the freedom which his ſpirit prompted, it would one day be fatal to him.

Ωκυμορος δη μοι, τεκος, εσσεαι ει αλαφευις.

"Short date of life, my ſon, theſe words forebode."

nes held with thoſe who aſſerted, that the country they were then in was much colder, and the winters more ſevere, than in Greece. Anaxarchus maintained the contrary with great obſtinacy. Upon which Calliſthenes ſaid, "You muſt needs acknowledge, my friend, "that this is much the colder; for there you went in "winter in one cloak, and here you cannot ſit at table "without three houſing coverlets one over another." This ſtroke went to the heart of Anaxarchus.

Calliſthenes was diſagreeable to all the other ſophiſts and flatterers at court; the more ſo, becauſe he was followed by the young men on account of his eloquence, and no leſs acceptable to the old for his regular, grave, ſelf-ſatisfied courſe of life. All which confirms what was ſaid to be the cauſe of his going to Alexander, namely, an ambition to bring his fellow-citizens back, and to repeople the * place of his nativity. His great reputation naturally expoſed him to envy; and he gave ſome room for calumny himſelf, by often refuſing the king's invitations, and when he did go to his entertainments, by ſitting ſolemn and ſilent; which ſhewed that he could neither commend, nor was ſatisfied with what paſſed: Inſomuch that Alexander ſaid to him one day,

——————— *I hate the Sage*
Who reaps no fruits of wiſdom for himſelf.

Once when he was at the king's table with a large company, and the cup came to him, he was deſired to pronounce an elogium upon the Macedonians extempore, which he did with ſo much eloquence, that the gueſts, beſide their plaudits, roſe up and covered him with their garlands. Upon this, Alexander ſaid, in the words of Euripides,

* Olynthus was one of the cities deſtroyed by Philip; whether Alexander permitted the philoſopher to re-eſtabliſh it is uncertain; but Cicero informs us, that, in his time, it was a flouriſhing place. *Vide* Or. iii. *in* Verrem.

When

When great the theme, tis eaſy to excell.

"But ſhew us now," continued he, "the power of "your rhetoric, in ſpeaking againſt the Macedonians, "that they may ſee their faults, and amend."

Then the orator took the other ſide, and ſpoke with equal fluency againſt the encroachments and other faults of the Macedonians, as well as againſt the diviſions among the Greeks, which he ſhewed to be the only cauſe of the great increaſe of Philip's power; concluding with theſe words,

Amidſt ſedition's waves
The worſt of mortals may emerge to honour.

By this he drew upon himſelf the implacable hatred of the Macedonians, and Alexander ſaid, "He gave not, "in this caſe, a ſpecimen of his eloquence, but of his "malevolence."

Hermippus aſſures us, that Stroïbus, a perſon employed by Calliſthenes to read to him, gave this account of the matter to Ariſtotle. He adds, that Calliſthenes perceiving the king's averſion to him, repeated this verſe two or three times at parting:

Patroclus, thy ſuperior is no more.

It was not, therefore, without reaſon, that Ariſtotle ſaid of Calliſthenes, "His eloquence, indeed, is "great, but he wants common ſenſe." He not only refuſed, with all the firmneſs of a philoſopher, to pay his reſpects to Alexander by proſtration, but ſtood forth ſingly, and uttered in public many grievances which the beſt and oldeſt of the Macedonians durſt not reflect upon but in ſecret, though they were as much diſpleaſed at them as he. By preventing the proſtration, he ſaved the Greeks, indeed, from a great diſhonour, and Alexander from a greater; but he ruined himſelf; becauſe his manner was ſuch, that he ſeemed rather deſirous to compel than to perſuade.

Chares

Chares of Mitylene tells us, that Alexander, at one of his entertainments, after he had drank, reached the cup to one of his friends. That friend had no ſooner received it than he roſe up, and turning towards the hearth *, where ſtood the domeſtic gods, to drink, he worſhiped, and then kiſſed Alexander. This done, he took his place again at table. All the gueſts did the ſame in their order, except Calliſthenes. When it came to his turn, he drank, and then approached to give the king a kiſs, who being engaged in ſome diſcourſe with Hephæſtion, happened not to mind him. But Demetrius, ſurnamed Phidon, cried out, "Re-"ceive not his kiſs; for he alone has not adored you." Upon which, Alexander refuſed it, and Calliſthenes ſaid aloud, "Then I return one kiſs the poorer."

A coldneſs, of courſe, enſued: But many other things contributed to his fall. In the firſt place, Hephæſtion's report was believed, that Calliſthenes had promiſed him to adore the king, and broke his word. In the next place, Lyſimachus and Agnon attacked him, and ſaid, "The ſophiſt went about with as much "pride as if he had demoliſhed a tyranny, and the "young men followed him, as the only free man "among ſo many thouſands." Theſe things, upon the diſcovery of Hermolaus's plot againſt Alexander, gave an air of probability to what was alleged againſt Calliſthenes. His enemies ſaid, Hermolaus enquired of him, "By what means he might become the moſt "famous man in the world," and that he anſwered, "By killing the moſt famous." They farther aſſerted, that by way of encouraging him to the attempt, he bade him "not be afraid of the golden bed, but

* Dacier is of opinion, that, by this action, the flatterer wanted to inſinuate, that Alexander ought to be reckoned among the domeſtic gods. But, as the king ſate in that part of the room where the *Penates* were, we rather think it was a vile excuſe to the man's own conſcience for this act of religious worſhip, becauſe their poſition made it dubious, whether it was intended for Alexander or for them.

"remem-

"remember he had to do with a man who had ſuffer-
"ed both by ſickneſs and by wounds."

Neither Hermolaus, however, nor any of his accomplices, made any mention of Calliſthenes amidſt the extremities of torture. Nay, Alexander himſelf, in the account he immediately gave of the plot to Craterus, Attalus and Alcetas, writes, "that the "young men, when put to the torture, declared, it was "entirely their own enterprize, and that no man be-"ſides was privy to it." Yet afterwards, in a letter to Antipater, he affirms that Calliſthenes was as guilty as the reſt. "The Macedonians," ſays he, "have "ſtoned the young men to death. As for the ſophiſt, "I will puniſh him myſelf, and thoſe that ſent him, "too: Nor ſhall the towns that harboured the con-"ſpirators eſcape." In which he plainly diſcovers his averſion to Ariſtotle, by whom Calliſthenes was brought up, as a relation; for he was the ſon of Hero, Ariſtotle's niece. His death is variouſly related. Some ſay, Alexander ordered him to be hanged; others, that he fell ſick and died in chains. And Chares writes, that he was kept ſeven months in priſon, in order to be tried in full council in the preſence of Ariſtotle; but that he died of exceſſive corpulency and the louſy diſeaſe, at the time that Alexander was wounded by the Malli Oxydracæ in India. This happened, however, at a later period than that we are upon.

In the mean time, Demeratus the Corinthian, though far advanced in years, was ambitious of going to ſee Alexander. Accordingly he took the voyage, and when he beheld him, he ſaid, "The Greeks fell ſhort "of a great pleaſure, who did not live to ſee Alex-"ander upon the throne of Darius." But he did not live to enjoy the king's friendſhip. He ſickened and died ſoon after. The king, however, performed his obſequies in the moſt magnificent manner; and the army threw up for him a monument of earth of great extent, and fourſcore cubits high. His

aſhes

aſhes were carried to the ſea-ſhore in a chariot and four, with the richeſt ornaments.

When Alexander was upon the point of ſetting out for India, he ſaw his troops were ſo laden with ſpoils that they were unfit to march. Therefore, early in the morning that he was to take his departure, after the carriages were aſſembled, he firſt ſet fire to his own baggage and that of his friends; and then gave orders that the reſt ſhould be ſerved in the ſame manner. The reſolution appeared more difficult to take, than it was to execute. Few were diſpleaſed at it, and numbers received it with acclamations of joy. They freely gave part of their equipage to ſuch as were in need, and burnt and deſtroyed whatever was ſuperfluous. This greatly encouraged and fortified Alexander in his deſign. Beſides, by this time he was become inflexibly ſevere in puniſhing offences. Menander, though one of his friends, he put to death, for refuſing to ſtay in a fortreſs he had given him the charge of; and one of the Barbarians, named Oſodates, he ſhot dead with an arrow, for the crime of rebellion.

About this time a ſheep yeaned a lamb with the perfect form and colour of a *tiara* upon its head, on each ſide of which were teſticles. Looking upon the prodigy with horror, he employed the Chaldæans, who attended him for ſuch purpoſes, to purify him by their expiations. He told his friends, on this occaſion, "That he was more troubled on their account than "his own; for he was afraid that after his death for-"tune would throw the empire into the hands of "ſome obſcure and weak man." A better omen, however, ſoon diſſipated his fears. A Macedonian, named Proxenus, who had the charge of the king's equipage, on opening * the ground by the river Oxus, in order to pitch his maſter's tent, diſcovered a ſpring of a groſs oily liquor; which, after the ſurface was

* Strabo (lib. ii.) aſcribes the ſame properties to the ground near the river Ochus. Indeed, the Ochus and the Oxus unite their ſtreams, and flow together into the Caſpian ſea.

taken

taken off, came perfectly clear, and neither in taſte nor ſmell differed from real oil, nor was inferior to it in ſmoothneſs and brightneſs, though there were no olives in that country. It is ſaid, indeed, that the water of the Oxus is of ſo unctuous a quality, that it makes the ſkins of thoſe who bathe in it ſmooth and ſhining *.

It appears, from a letter of Alexander's to Antipater, that he was greatly delighted with this incident, and reckoned it one of the happieſt preſages the gods had afforded him. The ſoothſayers ſaid, it betokened, that the expedition would prove a glorious one, but at the ſame time laborious and difficult, becauſe heaven has given men oil to refreſh them after their labours. Accordingly he met with great dangers in the battles that he fought, and received very conſiderable wounds. But his army ſuffered moſt by want of neceſſaries and by the climate. For his part, he was ambitious to ſhew that courage can triumph over fortune, and magnanimity over force: He thought nothing invincible to the brave, or impregnable to the † bold. Purſuant to this opinion, when he beſieged Siſimethres upon a ‡ rock extremely ſteep and apparently inacceſſible, and ſaw his men greatly diſcouraged at the enterprize, he aſked Oxyartes, "Whether Siſimethres were a man of "ſpirit?" And being anſwered, "That he was timor-"ous and daſtardly," he ſaid, "You inform me the "rock may be taken, ſince there is no ſtrength in its

* Pliny tells us, that the ſurface of theſe rivers was a conſiſtence of ſalt, and that the waters flowed under it as under a cruſt of ice. The ſalt conſiſtence he imputes to the defluxions from the neighbouring mountains, but he ſays nothing of the unctuous quality of theſe waters mentioned by Plutarch.

Natur. Hiſt. lib. xxxi.

† One of the manuſcripts, inſtead of ἀβλαμοις, has ἀδολμοις. Then the latter member of the ſentence would be, *nor ſecure to the timorous.*

‡ This ſtrong hold was ſituated in Bactriana. Strabo ſays, it was fifteen furlongs high, as many in compaſs, and that the top was a fertile plain, capable of maintaining five hundred. It was in Bactriana that Alexander married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.

"defen-

" defender." In fact, he found means to intimidate Siſimethres, and made himſelf maſter of the fort.

In the ſiege of another fort, ſituated in a place equally ſteep, among the young Macedonians that were to give the aſſault there was one called Alexander; and the king took occaſion to ſay to him, " You muſt " behave gallantly, my friend, to do juſtice to your " name." He was informed afterwards that the young man fell as he was diſtinguiſhing himſelf in a glorious manner, and he laid it much to heart.

When he ſate down before Nyſa *, the Macedonians made ſome difficulty of advancing to the attack, on account of the depth of the river that waſhed its walls, till Alexander ſaid, " What a wretch am I, " that I did not learn to ſwim," and was going to ford it with his ſhield in his hand. After the firſt aſſault, while the troops were refreſhing themſelves, ambaſſadors came with an offer to capitulate; and along with them were deputies from ſome other places. They were ſurprized to ſee him in armour without any pomp or ceremony; and their aſtoniſhment increaſed, when he bade the oldeſt of the ambaſſadors, named Acuphis, take the ſofa that was brought for himſelf. Acuphis, ſtruck with a benignity of reception ſo far beyond his hopes, aſked what they muſt do to be admitted into his friendſhip? Alexander anſwered, " It " muſt be on condition that they appoint you their " governor, and ſend me a hundred of their beſt men " for hoſtages." Acuphis ſmiled at this, and ſaid, " I ſhould govern better if you would take the worſt, " inſtead of the beſt."

It is ſaid †, the dominions of Taxiles, in India, were as large as Egypt: They afforded excellent paſturage too, and were the moſt fertile in all reſpects. As he

* Arrian calls it, Nyſſa; ſo indeed does the Vulcob. MS. That hiſtorian places it near Mount Meris, and adds, that it was built by Dionyſus, or Bacchus. Hence it had the name of Dionyſiopolis. It is now called Nerg.

† Between the Indus and the Hydaſpes.

was

was a man of great prudence, he waited on Alexander, and after the firſt compliments, thus addreſſed him: "What occaſion is there for wars between you and "me, if you are not come to take from us our water "and other neceſſaries of life; the only things that "reaſonable men will take up arms for? As to gold "and ſilver and other poſſeſſions, if I am richer than "you, I am willing to oblige you with part; if I am "poorer, I have no objection to ſharing in your "bounty." Charmed with his frankneſs, Alexander took his hand, and anſwered, "Think you, then, "with all this civility, to eſcape without a conflict? "You are much deceived, if you do. I will diſpute it "with you to the laſt, but it ſhall be in favours and "benefits; for I will not have you exceed me in gene-"roſity." Therefore, after having received great preſents from him, and made greater, he ſaid to him one evening, "I drink to you, Taxiles, and as ſure "as you pledge me, you ſhall have a thouſand talents." His friends were offended at his giving away ſuch immenſe ſums, but it made many of the Barbarians look upon him with a kinder eye.

The moſt warlike of the Indians uſed to fight for pay. Upon this invaſion they defended the cities that hired them, with great vigour, and Alexander ſuffered by them not a little. To one of the cities he granted an honourable capitulation, and yet ſeized the mercenaries, as they were upon their march homewards, and put them all to the ſword. This is the only blot in his military conduct; all his other proceedings were agreeable to the laws of war, and worthy of a king*.

* It was juſt and lawful, it ſeems, to go about harraſſing and deſtroying thoſe nations that had never offended him, and upon which he had no claim, except that avowed by the northern barbarians, when they entered Italy, namely, that the weak muſt ſubmit to the ſtrong. Indeed, thoſe barbarians were much honeſter men, for they had another, and a better plea; they went to ſeek bread.

The

The philoſophers gave him no leſs trouble than the mercenaries, by endeavouring to fix a mark of infamy upon thoſe princes that declared for him, and by exciting the free nations to take up arms; for which reaſon he hanged many of them.

As to his war with Porus, we have an account of it in his own letters. According to them, the river Hydaſpes was between the two armies, and Porus drew up his elephants on the banks oppoſite the enemy, with their heads towards the ſtream, to guard it. Alexander cauſed a great noiſe and buſtle to be made every day in his camp, that the Barbarians, being accuſtomed to it, might not be ſo ready to take the alarm *. This done, he took the advantage of a dark and ſtormy night, with part of his infantry, and a ſelect body of cavalry, to gain a little iſland in the river, at ſome diſtance from the Indians. When he was there, he and his troops were attacked with a moſt violent wind and rain, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning. But, notwithſtanding this hurricane, in which he ſaw ſeveral of his men periſh by the lightning, he advanced from the iſland to the oppoſite bank. The Hydaſpes, ſwelled with the rain, by its violence and rapidity made a breach on that ſide, which received water enough to form a bay, ſo that when he came to land, he found the bank extremely ſlippery, and the ground broken and undermined by the current. On this occaſion he is ſaid to have uttered that celebrated ſaying, "Will you believe, my Athenian friends, what dan-"gers I undergo, to have you the heralds of my "fame?" The laſt particular we have from Oneſicritus: But Alexander himſelf only ſays, they quitted

* The Latin and French tranſlators have both miſtaken the ſenſe of this paſſage.—Εδιζονία τες Βαρβαρες μηφοβεισθαι, is certainly capable of the ſenſe we have given it, and the context requires it ſhould be ſo underſtood. See Arrian, (l. v. Ed. St. p. 108. A. and B.) in ſupport of that conſtruction. See alſo Q. Curtius, l. viii. p. 263. Ed. Am.

their

their boats, and, armed as they were, waded up the breach breaſt high; and that when they were landed, he advanced with the horſe twenty furlongs before the foot, concluding that if the enemy attacked him with their cavalry, he ſhould be greatly their ſuperior, and that if they made a movement with their infantry, his would come up time enough to receive them. Nor did he judge amiſs. The enemy detached againſt him a thouſand horſe and ſixty armed chariots, and he defeated them with eaſe. The chariots he took, and killed four hundred of the cavalry upon the ſpot. By this, Porus underſtood that Alexander himſelf had paſſed the river, and therefore brought up his whole army, except what appeared neceſſary to keep the reſt of the Macedonians from making good their paſſage. Alexander conſidering the force of the elephants, and the enemy's ſuperior numbers, did not chuſe to engage them in front, but attacked the left wing himſelf, while Cœnus, according to his orders, fell upon the right. Both wings being broken, retired to the elephants in the center, and rallied there. The combat then was of a more mixed kind; but maintained with ſuch obſtinacy, that it was not decided till the eighth hour of the day. This deſcription of the battle we have from the conqueror himſelf, in one of his epiſtles.

Moſt hiſtorians agree, that Porus was four cubits and a palm high, and that though the elephant he rode was one of the largeſt, his ſtature and bulk were ſuch, that he appeared but proportionably mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave extraordinary proofs of his ſagacity and care of the king's perſon. As long as that prince was able to fight, he defended him with great courage, and repulſed all aſſailants; and when he perceived him ready to ſink under the multitude of darts and the wounds with which he was covered, to prevent his falling off, he kneeled down in the ſofteſt manner, and with his proboſcis gently drew every dart out of his body.

When Porus was taken priſoner, Alexander aſked him, "How he deſired to be treated?" He anſwered, "Like a king." "And have you nothing elſe to re-"queſt," replied Alexander. "No," ſaid he, "E-"very thing is comprehended in the word king." Alexander not only reſtored him his own dominions immediately, which he was to govern as his lieutenant, but added very extenſive territories to them; for having ſubdued a free country, which contained fifteen nations, five thouſand * conſiderable cities, and villages in proportion, he beſtowed it on Porus. Another country, three times as large, he gave to Philip, one of his friends, who was alſo to act there as his lieutenant.

In the battle with Porus, Bucephalus received ſeveral wounds, of which he died ſome time after. This is the account moſt writers give us: But Oneſicritus ſays, he died of age and fatigue, for he was thirty years old. Alexander ſhewed as much regret, as if he had loſt a faithful friend and companion. He eſteemed him, indeed, as ſuch; and built a city near the Hydaſpes, in the place where he was buried, which he called, after him, Bucephalia. He is alſo reported to have built a city, and called it Peritas, in memory of a dog of that name, which he had brought up and was very fond of. This particular, Sotio ſays, he had from Potamo of Leſbos.

The combat with Porus abated the ſpirit of the Macedonians, and made them reſolve to proceed no farther in India. It was with difficulty they had defeated an enemy who brought only twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe into the field; and therefore they oppoſed Alexander with great firmneſs, when

* Some tranſcriber ſeems to have given us the number of inhabitants in one city for the number of cities. Arrian's account is this: "He took thirty-ſeven cities, the leaſt of which con-"tained five thouſand inhabitants, and ſeveral of them above "ten thouſand. He took alſo a great number of villages not "leſs populous than the cities, and gave the government of the "country to Porus."

he

he inſiſted that they ſhould paſs the * Ganges, which, they were informed, was thirty-two furlongs in breadth, and in depth a hundred fathom. The oppoſite ſhore too was covered with numbers of ſquadrons, battalions, and elephants. For the kings of the Gandarites and Præſians were ſaid to be waiting for them there, with eighty thouſand horſe, two hundred thouſand foot, eight thouſand chariots, and ſix thouſand elephants trained to war. Nor is this number at all magnified: For Androcottus, who reigned not long after, made Seleucus a preſent of † five hundred elephants at one time, and with an army of ſix hundred thouſand men traverſed India, and conquered the whole.

Alexander's grief and indignation at this refuſal were ſuch, that at firſt he ſhut himſelf up in his tent, and lay proſtrate on the ground, declaring "he did "not thank the Macedonians in the leaſt for what "they had done, if they would not paſs the Ganges; "for he conſidered a retreat as no other than an ac-"knowledgment that he was overcome." His friends omitted nothing that might comfort him; and at laſt their remonſtrances, together with the cries and tears of the ſoldiers, who were ſuppliants at his door, melted him, and prevailed on him to return. However, he firſt contrived many vain and ſophiſtical things to ſerve the purpoſes of fame; among which were arms much bigger than his men could uſe, and higher mangers, and heavier bits than his horſes required, left ſcattered up and down. He built alſo great altars, for which the Præſians ſtill retain much veneration, and their kings croſs the Ganges every year to offer ſacrifices in the Grecian manner upon them. Androcottus, who was then very young, had a ſight of Alexander, and he is reported to have often ſaid afterwards, "That

* The Ganges is the largeſt of all the rivers in the three continents, the Indus the ſecond, the Nile the third, and the Danube the fourth.

† Dacier ſays *five thouſand*, but does not mention his authority. Perhaps it was only a ſlip in the writing, or in the printing.

"Alexander was within a little of making himſelf "maſter of all the country; with ſuch hatred and con-"tempt was the reigning prince looked upon, on ac-"count of his profligacy of manners, and meanneſs of "birth."

Alexander, in his march from thence, formed a deſign to ſee the ocean; for which purpoſe he cauſed a number of row-boats and rafts to be conſtructed, and, upon them, fell down the rivers at his leiſure. Nor was this navigation unattended with hoſtilities. He made ſeveral deſcents by the way, and attacked the adjacent cities, which were all forced to ſubmit to his victorious arms. However, he was very near being cut in pieces by the Malli, who are called the moſt warlike people in India. He had driven ſome of them from the wall with his miſſive weapons, and was the firſt man that aſcended it. But preſently after he was up, the ſcaling ladder broke. Finding himſelf * and his ſmall company much galled by the darts of the Barbarians from below, he poiſed himſelf, and leaped down into the midſt of the enemy. By good fortune he fell upon his feet; and the Barbarians were ſo aſtoniſhed at the flaſhing of his arms as he came down, that they thought they beheld lightning, or ſome ſupernatural ſplendor iſſuing from his body. At firſt, therefore, they drew back and diſperſed. But when they had recollected themſelves, and ſaw him attended only by two of his guards, they attacked him hand to hand, and wounded him through his armour with their ſwords and ſpears, notwithſtanding the valour with which he fought. One of them ſtanding farther off, drew an arrow with ſuch ſtrength, that it made its way through his cuiraſs, and entered the ribs under the breaſt. Its force was ſo great, that he gave back and was brought upon his knees, and the Barbarian ran up with his drawn ſcimitar to diſpatch him.

* The word ὁλίσθος implies, that he was not quite alone; and it appears immediately after that he was not.

Peuceſtas

Peuceſtas and * Limnæus placed themſelves before him, but the one was wounded and the other killed. Peuceſtas, who ſurvived, was ſtill making ſome reſiſtance, when Alexander recovered himſelf and laid the Barbarian at his feet. The king, however, received new wounds, and at laſt had ſuch a blow from a bludgeon upon his neck, that he was forced to ſupport himſelf by the wall, and there ſtood with his face to the enemy. The Macedonians, who by this time had got in, gathered about him, and carried him off to his tent.

His ſenſes were gone, and it was the current report in the army that he was dead. When they had, with great difficulty, ſawed off the ſhaft, which was of wood, and with equal trouble had taken off the cuiraſs, they proceeded to extract the head, which was three fingers broad and four long, and ſtuck faſt in the bone. He fainted under the operation, and was very near expiring; but when the head was got out, he came to himſelf. Yet, after the danger was over, he continued weak, and a long time confined himſelf to a regular diet, attending ſolely to the cure of his wound. The Macedonians could not bear to be ſo long deprived of the ſight of their king; they aſſembled in a tumultuous manner about his tent. When he perceived this, he put on his robe, and made his appearance; but as ſoon as he had ſacrificed to the gods, he retired again. As he was on his way to the place of his deſtination, though † carried in a litter by the water ſide, he ſubdued a large track of land and many reſpectable cities.

In the courſe of this expedition, he took ten of the *Gymnoſophiſts* ‡, who had been principally concerned

* Q. Curtius calls him *Timæus*.

† παρεκομίζετο.

‡ Theſe philoſophers, ſo called from their going naked, were divided into two ſects, the *Brachmani* and the *Germani*. The Brachmani were moſt eſteemed, becauſe there was a conſiſtency in their principles. Apuleius tells us, that not only the ſcholars, but the younger pupils, were aſſembled about dinner-time, and examined what good they had done that day; and ſuch as could not point out ſome act of humanity, or uſeful purſuit, that they had been engaged in, were not allowed any dinner.

in inſtigating Sabbas to revolt, and had brought numberleſs other troubles upon the Macedonians. As theſe ten were reckoned the moſt acute and conciſe in their anſwers, he put the moſt difficult queſtions to them that could be thought of, and at the ſame time declared, he would put the firſt perſon that anſwered wrong to death, and after him all the reſt. The oldeſt man among them was to be judge.

He demanded of the firſt, "Which were moſt numerous, the living or the dead." He anſwered, "The living; for the dead no longer exiſt *."

The ſecond was aſked, "Whether the earth or the ſea produced the largeſt animals?" He anſwered, "The earth; for the ſea is part of it."

The third, "Which was the craftieſt of all animals?" "That," ſaid he, "With which man is not yet acquainted †."

The fourth, "What was his reaſon for perſuading Sabbas to revolt?" "Becauſe," ſaid he, "I wiſhed him either to live with honour, or to die ‡ as a coward deſerves."

The fifth had this queſtion put to him, "Which do you think oldeſt, the day or the night?" He anſwered, "The day, by one day." As the king appeared ſurpriſed at this ſolution, the philoſopher told him, "Abſtruſe queſtions muſt have abſtruſe anſwers."

* They did not hold the mortality, but the tranſmigration of the ſoul.

† This we ſuppoſe to mean man himſelf, as not being acquainted with himſelf.

‡ One of the manuſcripts gives us καλως here, inſtead of κακως. Then the ſenſe will be, "Becauſe I wiſhed him either to live or "die with honour." Which we cannot but prefer; for he who has regard enough for a man to wiſh him to live with honour, cannot be ſo envious as to wiſh him to die with diſhonour. At the ſame time we agree with Moſes Du Soul, that ſome archneſs is intended in moſt of the anſwers; but what archneſs is there in this, as it is commonly tranſlated, *Becauſe I wiſhed him either to live honourably, or to die miſerably.*

Then

Then addreſſing himſelf to the ſixth, he demanded, "What were the beſt means for a man to make himſelf "loved?" He anſwered, "If poſſeſſed of great "power, do not make yourſelf feared."

The ſeventh was aſked, "How a man might be-"come a god?" He anſwered, "By doing what is "impoſſible for man to do."

The eighth, "Which is ſtrongeſt, life or death?" "Life," ſaid he, "becauſe it bears ſo many evils."

The laſt queſtion that he put, was, "How long is "it good for a man to live?" "As long," ſaid the philoſopher, "as he does not prefer death to life."

Then turning to the judge, he ordered him to give ſentence. The old man ſaid, "In my opinion they "have all anſwered one worſe than another." "If "this is thy judgment," ſaid Alexander, "thou ſhalt "die firſt." "No," replied the philoſopher; "not "except you chuſe to break your word: For you de-"clared, the man that anſwered worſt ſhould firſt "ſuffer."

The king loaded them with preſents and diſmiſſed them. After which he ſent Oneſicritus, a diſciple of Diogenes, to the other Indian ſages who were of moſt reputation, and lived a retired life, to deſire them to come to him. Oneſicritus tells us, Calanus treated him with great inſolence and harſhneſs, bidding him ſtrip himſelf naked, if he deſired to hear any of his doctrine: "You ſhould not hear me on any other "condition" ſaid he, "though you came from Ju-"piter himſelf." Dandamis behaved with more civi-"lity; and when Oneſicritus had given him an account of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Diogenes, he ſaid, "They appeared to him to have been men of genius, "but to have lived with too paſſive a regard to the "laws."

Others ſay, Dandamis entered into no diſcourſe with the meſſenger, but only aſked, "Why Alexander had "taken ſo long a journey?" As to Calanus, it is cer-

tain Taxiles prevailed with him to go to Alexander. His true name was Sphines; but becauſe he addreſſed them with the word *Calé*, which is the Indian form of ſalutation, the Greek called him Calanus. This philoſopher, we are told, preſented Alexander with a good image of his empire. He laid a dry and ſhriveled hide before him, and firſt trod upon the edges of it. This he did all round; and as he trod on one ſide, it ſtarted up on the other. At laſt, he fixed his feet on the middle, and then it lay ſtill. By this emblem he ſhewed him, that he ſhould fix his reſidence, and plant his principal force, in the heart of his empire, and not wander to the extremities.

Alexander ſpent ſeven months in falling down the rivers to the ocean. When he arrived there, he embarked, and ſailed to an iſland which he called *Scillouſtis, but others call it Pſiltoucis. There he landed, and ſacrificed to the gods. He likewiſe conſidered the nature of the ſea and of the coaſt, as far as it was acceſſible. And after having beſought heaven, "That "no man might ever reach beyond the bounds of his "expedition," he prepared to ſet out on his way back. He appointed Nearchus admiral, and Oneſicritus chief pilot, and ordered his fleet to ſail round, keeping India on the right. With the reſt of his forces he returned by land through the country of the Orites; in which he was reduced to ſuch extremities, and loſt ſuch numbers of men, that he did not bring back from India above a fourth part of the army he entered it with, which was no leſs than a hundred and twenty thouſand foot and fifteen thouſand horſe. Violent diſtempers, ill diet, and exceſſive heats deſtroyed multitudes; but famine made ſtill greater ravages. For it was a barren and uncultivated country; the natives lived miſerably, having nothing to ſubſiſt on but a few bad ſheep, which uſed to feed on the fiſh thrown up by the

* Arrian calls it Cilluta. Here they firſt obſerved the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, which ſurpriſed them not a little.

ſea;

ſea; conſequently they were poor, and their fleſh of a bad flavour.

With much difficulty he traverſed this country in ſixty days, and then arrived in Gedroſia. There he found proviſions in abundance; for beſides that the land is fertile in itſelf, the neighbouring princes and grandees ſupplied him. After he had given his army ſome time to refreſh themſelves, he marched in Carmania for ſeven days in a kind of Bacchanalian proceſſion. His chariot, which was very magnificent, was drawn by eight horſes. Upon it was placed a lofty platform, where he and his principal friends revelled day and night. This carriage was followed by many others, ſome covered with rich tapeſtry and purple hangings, and others ſhaded with branches of trees freſh gathered and flouriſhing. In theſe were the reſt of the king's friends and generals, crowned with flowers and exhilarated with wine.

In this whole company there was not to be ſeen a buckler, a helmet, or ſpear; but, inſtead of them, cups, flagons, and goblets. Theſe the ſoldiers dipped in huge veſſels of wine, and drank to each other, ſome as they marched along, and others ſeated at tables, which were placed at proper diſtances on the way. The whole country reſounded with flutes, clarionets and ſongs, and with the dances and riotous frolicks of the women. This diſorderly and diſſolute march was cloſed * with a very immodeſt figure, and with all the licentious ribaldry of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himſelf had been preſent to carry on the debauch.

When Alexander arrived at the royal palace of † Gedroſia, he gave his army time to refreſh them-

* M. le Fevre (in his notes upon Anacreon) ſeems to have reſtored the genuine reading of this paſſage, by propoſing to read, inſtead of ταις φιαλαις, ὁ Φαλας, or Φαλλος.

† Gedroſia is certainly corrupt. Probably we ſhould read Carmania. Βασιλειον ſignifies a capital city, as well as a royal palace, becauſe princes generally reſide in their capitals.

ſelves

ſelves again, and entertained them with feaſts and public ſpectacles. At one of theſe, in which the choruſes diſputed the prize of dancing, he appeared inflamed with wine. His favourite Bagoas happening to win it, croſſed the theatre in his habit of ceremony, and ſeated himſelf by the king. The Macedonians expreſſed their ſatisfaction with loud plaudits, and called out to the king to kiſs him, with which at laſt he complied.

Nearchus joined him again here, and he was ſo much delighted with the account of his voyage, that he formed a deſign to ſail in perſon from the Euphrates with a great fleet, circle the coaſt of Arabia and Africa, and enter the Mediterranean by the pillars of Hercules. For this purpoſe, he conſtructed, at Thapſacus a number of veſſels of all ſorts, and collected mariners and pilots. But the report of the difficulties he had met with in his Indian expedition, particularly in his attack of the Malli, his great loſs of men, in the country of the Orites, and the ſuppoſition he would never return alive from the voyage he now meditated, excited his new ſubjects to revolt, and put his generals and governors of provinces upon diſplaying their injuſtice, inſolence, and avarice. In ſhort, the whole empire was in commotion, and ripe for rebellion. Olympias and Cleopatra, leaguing againſt Antipater, had ſeized his hereditary dominions, and divided them between them. Olympias took Epirus, and Cleopatra, Macedonia. The tidings of which being brought to Alexander, he ſaid, "His mother "had conſidered right; for the Macedonians would "never bear to be governed by a woman."

In conſequence of this unſettled ſtate of things, he ſent Nearchus again to ſea, having determined to carry the war into the maritime provinces. Meantime he marched in perſon to chaſtiſe his lieutenants for their miſdemeanours. Oxyartes, one of the ſons of Abulites, he killed with his own hand, by a ſtroke of his javelin. Abulites had laid in no proviſions for him; he

he had only collected three thouſand talents in money. Upon his preſenting this, Alexander bade him offer it to his horſes; and, as they did not touch it, he ſaid, "Of what uſe will this proviſion now be to me?" and immediately ordered Abulites to be taken into cuſtody.

The firſt thing he did after he entered Perſia, was to give this money to the matrons, according to the ancient cuſtom of the kings, who, upon their return from any excurſion to their Perſian dominions, uſed to give every woman a piece of gold. For this reaſon, ſeveral of them, we are told, made it a rule to return but ſeldom; and Ochus never did: He baniſhed himſelf to ſave his money.

Having found the tomb of Cyrus broke open, he put the author of that ſacrilege to death, though a native of Pella, and a perſon of ſome diſtinction. His name was Polymachus. After he had read the epitaph, which was in the Perſian language, he ordered it to be inſcribed alſo in Greek. It was as follows: O MAN, WHOSOEVER THOU ART, AND WHENCESOEVER THOU COMEST, (FOR COME I KNOW THOU WILT,) I AM CYRUS, THE FOUNDER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE. ENVY ME NOT THE LITTLE EARTH THAT COVERS MY BODY. Alexander was much affected at theſe words, which placed before him, in ſo ſtrong a light, the uncertainty and viciſſitude of things.

It was here that Calanus, after having been diſordered a little while with the cholic, deſired to have his funeral pile erected. He approached it on horſeback, offered up his prayers to heaven, poured the libations upon himſelf, cut off part of his hair *, and threw it in the fire; and before he aſcended the pile, took leave of the Macedonians, deſiring them to ſpend the day in jollity and drinking with the king; "for I ſhall "ſee him," ſaid he, "in a little time at Babylon." So ſaying, he ſtretched himſelf upon the pile, and co-

* As ſome of the hair uſed to be cut from the forehead of victims.

vered

vered himſelf up. Nor did he move at the approach of the flames, but remained in the ſame poſture till he had finiſhed his ſacrifice according to the cuſtom of the ſages of his country. Many years after, another Indian did the ſame before Auguſtus Cæſar at Athens, whoſe tomb is ſhewn to this day, and called *the* Indian's *tomb*.

Alexander, as ſoon as he retired from the funeral pile, invited his friends and officers to ſupper, and, to give life to the carouſal, promiſed that the man who drank moſt ſhould be crowned for his victory. Promachus drank four * meaſures of wine, and carried off the crown, which was worth a talent, but ſurvived it only three days. The reſt of the gueſts, as Chares tells us, drank to ſuch a degree, that forty-one of them loſt their lives, the weather coming upon them extremely cold during their intoxication.

When he arrived at Suſa, he married his friends to Perſian ladies. He ſet them the example, by taking Statira, the daughter of Darius, to wife, and then diſtributed among his principal officers the virgins of higheſt quality. As for thoſe Macedonians who had already married in Perſia, he made a general entertainment in commemoration of their nuptials. It is ſaid, that no leſs than nine thouſand gueſts ſate down, and yet he preſented each with a golden cup for performing the libation. Every thing elſe was conducted with the utmoſt magnificence; he even paid off all their debts; inſomuch that the whole expence amounted to nine thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy talents.

An officer who had but one eye, named Antigenes, put himſelf upon this liſt of debtors, and produced a perſon who declared he was ſo much in his books. Alexander paid the money; but afterwards diſcovering the fraud, in his anger forbad him the court, and took away his commiſſion. There was no fault to be found with him as a ſoldier. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his youth under Philip, at the ſiege

* About fourteen quarts. The *cheus* was ſix pints nine-tenths.

of

of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye with a dart ſhot from one of the engines; and yet he would neither ſuffer it to be taken out, nor quit the field, till he had repulſed the enemy, and forced them to retire into the town. The poor wretch could not bear the diſgrace he had now brought upon himſelf; his grief and deſpair were ſo great, that it was apprehended he would put an end to his own life. To prevent ſuch a cataſtrophe, the king forgave him, and ordered him to keep the money.

The thirty thouſand boys, whom he left under proper maſters, were now grown ſo much, and made ſo handſome an appearance; and, what was of more importance, had gained ſuch an activity and addreſs in their exerciſes, that he was greatly delighted with them. But it was matter of uneaſineſs to the Macedonians; they were apprehenſive that the king would have leſs regard for them. Therefore, when he gave the invalids their route to the ſea, in order to their return, the whole army conſidered it as an injurious and oppreſſive meaſure: "He has availed himſelf," ſaid they, "beyond all reaſon, of their ſervices, and now "he ſends them back with diſgrace, and turns them "upon the hands of their country and their pa- "rents, in a very different condition from that in which "he received them. Why does not he diſmiſs us all? "Why does not he reckon all the Macedonians inca- "pable of ſervice, now he has got this body of young "dancers. Let him go with them, and conquer the "world."

Alexander, incenſed at this mutinous behaviour, loaded them with reproaches; and ordering them off, took Perſians for his guards, and filled up other offices with them. When they ſaw their king with theſe new attendants, and themſelves rejected and ſpurned with diſhonour, they were greatly humbled. They lamented their fate to each other, and were almoſt frantic with jealouſy and anger. At laſt, coming to themſelves, they repaired to the king's tent, without arms,

arms, in one thin garment only; and with tears and lamentations delivered themſelves up to his vengeance; deſiring he would treat them as ungrateful men deſerved.

He was ſoftened with their complaints, but would not appear to hearken to them. They ſtood two days and nights bemoaning themſelves in this manner, and calling for their dear maſter. The third day he came out to them; and when he ſaw their forlorn condition, he wept a long time. After a gentle rebuke for their miſbehaviour, he condeſcended to converſe with them in a freer manner; and ſuch as were unfit for ſervice, he ſent home with magnificent preſents. At the ſame time he ſignified his pleaſure to Antipater, that at all public diverſions they ſhould have the moſt honourable ſeats in the theatres, and wear chaplets of flowers there; and that the children of thoſe who had loſt their lives in his ſervice, ſhould have their fathers pay continued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had diſpatched the moſt urgent affairs, he employed himſelf again in the celebration of games and other public ſolemnities, for which purpoſe three thouſand artificers, lately arrived from Greece, were very ſerviceable to him. But unfortunately Hephæſtion fell ſick of a fever in the midſt of this feſtivity. As a young man and a ſoldier, he could not bear to be kept to ſtrict diet; and taking the opportunity to dine when his phyſician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, he eat a roaſted fowl, and drank a flagon of wine made as cold as poſſible; in conſequence of which, he grew worſe, and died a few days after.

Alexander's grief on this occaſion exceeded all bounds. He immediately ordered the horſes and mules to be ſhorn, that they might have their ſhare in the mourning, and with the ſame view pulled down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. The poor phyſician he crucified. He forbad the flute and all other muſic in his camp for a long time. This continued

tinued till he received an oracle from Jupiter Ammon, which enjoined him to revere Hephæſtion, and ſacrifice to him as a demi-god. After this he ſought to relieve his ſorrow by hunting, or rather by war, for his game were men. In this expedition he conquered the Cuſſæans, and put all that were come to years of puberty to the ſword. This he called a ſacrifice to the *manes* of Hephæſtion.

He deſigned to lay out ten thouſand talents upon his tomb and the monumental ornaments, and that the workmanſhip, as well as deſign, ſhould exceed the expence, great as it was. He therefore deſired to have Staſicrates for his architect, whoſe genius promiſed a happy boldneſs and grandeur in every thing that he planned. This was the man who had told him, ſome time before, that Mount Athos in Thrace was moſt capable of being cut into a human figure; and that, if he had but his orders, he would convert it into a ſtatue for him, the moſt laſting and conſpicuous in the world: A ſtatue, which ſhould have a city with ten thouſand inhabitants in its left hand, and a river that flowed to the ſea with a ſtrong current in its right. He did not however, embrace that propoſal, though at that time he buſied himſelf with his architects in contriving and laying out even more abſurd and expenſive deſigns.

As he was advancing towards Babylon, Nearchus, who was returned from his expedition on the ocean, and come up the Euphrates, declared, he had been applied to by ſome Chaldæans, who were ſtrongly of opinion that Alexander ſhould not enter Babylon. But he ſlighted the warning, and continued his march. Upon his approach to the walls, he ſaw a great number of crows fighting, ſome of which fell down dead at his feet. Soon after this, being informed, that Apollodorus, governor of Babylon, had ſacrificed, in order to conſult the gods concerning him, he ſent for Pythagoras the diviner; and, as he did not deny the fact, aſked him how the entrails of the victim appeared.

ed. Pythagoras anſwered, the liver was without a head. "A terrible preſage, indeed!" ſaid Alexander. He let Pythagoras go with impunity: But by this time he was ſorry he had not liſtened to Nearchus. He lived moſtly in his pavilion without the walls, and diverted himſelf with ſailing up and down the Euphrates. For there had happened ſeveral other ill omens that much diſturbed him. One of the largeſt and handſomeſt lions that were kept in Babylon, was attacked and kicked to death by an aſs. One day he ſtripped for the refreſhment of oil, and to play at ball: After the diverſion was over, the young men who played with him, going to fetch his clothes, beheld a man ſitting in profound ſilence on his throne, dreſſed in the royal robes, with the diadem upon his head. They demanded who he was, and it was a long time before he would anſwer. At laſt, coming to himſelf, he ſaid, "My name is Dionyſius, and I am a native "of Meſſene. Upon a criminal proceſs againſt me, I "left the place, and embarked for Babylon. There "I have been kept a long time in chains. But this "day the god Serapis appeared to me, and broke my "chains; after which he conducted me hither, and "ordered me to put on this robe and diadem, and ſit "here in ſilence."

After the man had thus explained himſelf, Alexander, by the advice of his ſoothſayers, put him to death. But the anguiſh of his mind increaſed; on one hand, he almoſt deſpaired of the ſuccours of heaven, and on the other diſtruſted his friends. He was moſt afraid of Antipater and his ſons; one of which, named *Iolaus, was his cupbearer; the other, named Caſſander, was lately arrived from Macedonia; and happening to ſee ſome Barbarians proſtrate themſelves before the king, like a man accuſtomed only to the Grecian manners, and a ſtranger to ſuch a ſight, he burſt out into a loud laugh. Alexander, enraged at

* Arrian and Curtius call him *Iollas*. Plutarch calls him *Iolas* below.

the

the affront, ſeized him by the hair, and with both hands daſhed his head againſt the wall. Caſſander afterwards attempted to vindicate his father againſt his accuſers; which greatly irritated the king. "What "is this talk of thine?" ſaid he. "Doſt thou think "that men who had ſuffered no injury, would come "ſo far to bring a falſe charge?" "Their coming ſo "far," replied Caſſander, "is an argument that the "charge is falſe, becauſe they are at a diſtance from "thoſe who are able to contradict them." At this Alexander ſmiled, and ſaid, "Theſe are ſome of "Ariſtotle's ſophiſms, which make equally for either "ſide of the queſtion. But be aſſured I will make "you repent it, if theſe men have had the leaſt in-"juſtice done them."

This, and other menaces, left ſuch a terror upon Caſſander, and made ſo laſting an impreſſion upon his mind, that many years after, when king of Macedon, and maſter of all Greece, as he was walking about at Delphi, and taking a view of the ſtatues, the ſudden ſight of that of Alexander is ſaid to have ſtruck him with ſuch horror, that he trembled all over, and it was with difficulty he recovered of the giddineſs it cauſed in his brain.

When Alexander had once given himſelf up to ſuperſtition, his mind was ſo preyed upon by vain fears and anxieties, that he turned the leaſt incident which was any thing ſtrange and out of the way, into a ſign or a prodigy. The court ſwarmed with ſacrificers, purifiers, and prognoſticators; they were all to be ſeen exerciſing their talents there. So true it is, that though the diſbelief of religion, and contempt of things divine, is a great evil; yet ſuperſtition is a greater. For, as * water gains upon low grounds, ſo ſuperſti-

* The text in this place is corrupt. For the ſake of thoſe readers who have not Bryan's edition of the Greek, we ſhall give the emendation which the learned Moſes du Soul propoſes —— ἡ δεισιδαιμονια, ὑδωρ ὑδατος, αει προς το ταπεινοτερον και ΚΑΤΑΝΤΕΣ ΡΕΟΥΣΑ, αβουλιας και φοβου του Αλεξανδρου ΑΝΕΠΛΗΡΟΥ.

tion prevails over a dejected mind, and fills it with fear and folly. This was entirely Alexander's case. However, upon the receipt of some oracles concerning Hephæstion from the god he commonly consulted, he gave a truce to his sorrows, and employed himself in festive sacrifices and entertainments.

One day, after he had given Nearchus a sumptuous treat, he went, according to custom, to refresh himself in the bath, in order to retire to rest. But in the mean time Medius came and invited him to take part in a carousal; and he could not deny him. There he drank all that night and the next day, till at last he found a fever coming upon him. It did not, however, seize him as he was drinking the cup of Hercules, nor did he find a sudden pain in his back, as if it had been pierced with a spear. These are circumstances invented by writers, who thought the catastrophe of so noble a tragedy should be something affecting and extraordinary. Aristobulus tells us, that in the rage of his fever, and the violence of his thirst, he took a draught of wine, which threw him into a frenzy, and that he died the thirtieth of the month *Daesius*, *June*.

But in his journals, the account of his sickness is as follows. "On the eighteenth of the month Daesius, "finding the fever upon him, he lay in his bath-room. "The next day, after he had bathed, he removed into "his own chamber, and played many hours with "Medius at dice. In the evening he bathed again, "and after having sacrificed to the gods, he eat his "supper. In the night the fever returned. The "twentieth he also bathed, and after the customary "sacrifice, sat in the bath-room, and diverted himself "with hearing Nearchus tell the story of his voyage, "and all that was most observable with respect to the "ocean. The twenty-first was spent in the same "manner. The fever increased, and he had a very "bad night. The twenty-second, the fever was vio-"lent. He ordered his bed to be removed, and placed "by the great bath. There he talked to his gene-

"rals

"rals about the vacancies in his army, and deſired "they might be filled up with experienced officers. "The twenty-fourth, he was much worſe. He choſe, "however, to be carried to aſſiſt at the ſacrifice. He "likewiſe gave orders that the principal officers of the "army ſhould wait within the court, and the others "keep watch all night without. The twenty-fifth, "he was removed to his palace, on the other ſide of "the river, where he ſlept a little, but the fever did "not abate; and when his generals entered the room "he was ſpeechleſs. He continued ſo the day fol-"lowing. The Macedonians, by this time, thinking "he was dead, came to the gates with great clamour, "and threatened the great officers in ſuch a manner, "that they were forced to admit them, and ſuffer "them all to paſs unarmed by the bed-ſide. The "twenty-ſeventh, Python and Seleucus were ſent to "the temple of Serapis, to enquire whether they "ſhould carry Alexander thither, and the deity or-"dered that they ſhould not remove him. The "twenty-eight in the evening he died." Theſe particulars are taken almoſt word for word from his diary.

There was no ſuſpicion of poiſon at the time of his death; but ſix years after, (we are told,) Olympias, upon ſome information, put a number of people to death, and ordered the remains of Iolas, who was ſuppoſed to have given him the draught, to be dug out of the grave. Thoſe who ſay Ariſtotle adviſed Antipater to ſuch a horrid deed, and furniſhed him with the poiſon he ſent to Babylon, alledge one Agnothemis as their author, who is pretended to have had the information from king Antigonus. They add, that the poiſon was a water of a cold * and deadly quality, which diſtils from a rock in the territory of Nonacris; and that they receive it as they would do ſo many

* Hence it was called the *Stygian Water*. Nonacris was a city of Arcadia.

dew-drops, and keep it in an aſs's hoof; its extreme coldneſs and acrimony being ſuch, that it makes its way through all other veſſels. The generality, however, look upon the ſtory of the poiſon as a mere fable; and they have this ſtrong argument in their favour, that though on account of the diſputes which the great officers were engaged in for many days, the body lay *unembalmed in a ſultry place, it had no ſign of any ſuch taint, but continued freſh and clear.

Roxana was now pregnant, and therefore had great attention paid her by the Macedonians. But being extremely jealous of Statira, ſhe laid a ſnare for her by a forged letter, as from Alexander; and having, by this means, got her into her power, ſhe ſacrificed both her and her ſiſter, and threw their bodies into a well, which ſhe filled up with earth. Perdiccas was her accomplice in this murder. Indeed he had now the principal power, which he exerciſed in the name of Aridæus, whom he treated rather as a ſcreen, than as a king.

Aridæus was the ſon of Philip by a courtezan named Philinna, a woman of low birth. His deficiency in underſtanding was the conſequence of a diſtemper, in which neither nature nor accident had any ſhare. For it is ſaid, there was ſomething amiable and great in him when a boy; which Olympias perceiving, gave him potions that diſturbed his brain †.

* ἀδιαφθορον.

† Portraits of the ſame perſon, taken at different periods of life, though they differ greatly from each other, retain a reſemblance upon the whole. And ſo it is in general with the characters of men. But Alexander ſeems to be an exception: For nothing can admit of greater diſſimilarity than that which entered into his diſpoſition at different times, and in different circumſtances. He was brave and puſillanimous, merciful and cruel, modeſt and vain, abſtemious and luxurious, rational and ſuperſtitious, polite and overbearing, politic and imprudent. Nor were theſe changes caſual or temporary: The ſtile of his character underwent a total revolution, and he paſſed from virtue to vice in a regular and progreſſive manner. Munificence and pride were the only characteriſtics that never forſook him. If there were any vice of which he was incapable, it was avarice; if any virtue, it was humility.

JULIUS

JULIUS CÆSAR.

*WHEN Sylla had made himſelf maſter of Rome, he endeavoured to bring Cæſar to repudiate Cornelia, daughter to Cinna, one of the late tyrants; and finding he could not effect it either by hopes or fears †, he confiſcated her dowry. Indeed, Cæſar, as a relation to Marius, was naturally an enemy to Sylla. Old Marius had married Julia, Cæſar's aunt, and therefore young Marius, the ſon he had by her, was Cæſar's couſin german. At firſt Sylla, amidſt the vaſt number of proſcriptions that engaged his attention, overlooked this enemy; but Cæſar, not content with eſcaping ſo, preſented himſelf to the people as a ‡ candidate for the prieſthood, though he was not yet come to years of maturity. Sylla exerted

* Some imagine that the beginning of this Life is loſt; but if they look back to the Introduction to the Life of Alexander, that notion will vaniſh.

† Cæſar would not make ſuch a ſacrifice to the dictator, as Piſo had done, who, at his command, divorced his wife Annia. Pompey, too, for the ſake of Sylla's alliance, repudiated Antiſtia.

‡ Cæſar had the prieſthood before Sylla was dictator. In the ſeventeenth year of his age, he broke his engagement to Coſſutia, though ſhe was of a conſular and opulent family, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, by whoſe intereſt, and that of Marius, he was created *Flamen Dialis*, or Prieſt of Jupiter. Sylla, when abſolute maſter of Rome, inſiſted on his divorcing Cornelia, and, upon his refuſal, deprived him of that office.

SUETON. in Julio.

his influence againſt him, and he miſcarried. The dictator afterwards thought of having him taken off, and when ſome ſaid, there was no need to put ſuch a boy to death, he anſwered, "Their ſagacity was "ſmall, if they did not in that boy ſee many Ma-"rius's."

This ſaying being reported to Cæſar, he concealed himſelf a long time, wandering up and down in the country of the Sabines. Amidſt his movements from houſe to houſe he fell ſick, and on that account was forced to be carried in a litter. The ſoldiers employed by Sylla to ſearch thoſe parts, and drag the proſcribed perſons from their retreats, one night fell in with him; but Cornelius, who commanded them, was prevailed on by a bribe of two talents to let him go.

He then haſtened to ſea, and ſailed to Bithynia, where he ſought protection of Nicomedes the king. His ſtay, however, with him was not long. He re-imbarked, and was taken, near the iſle of Pharmacuſa, by pirates, who were maſters of that ſea, and blocked up all the paſſages with a number of gallies and other veſſels. They aſked him only twenty talents for his ranſom. He laughed at their demand, as the conſequence of their not knowing him, and promiſed them fifty talents. To raiſe the money, he diſpatched his people to different cities, and in the mean time remained with only one friend and two attendants among theſe Cilicians, who conſidered murder as a trifle. Cæſar, however, held them in great contempt, and uſed to ſend, whenever he went to ſleep, and order them to keep ſilence. Thus he lived among them thirty-eight days, as if they had been his guards, rather than his keepers. Perfectly fearleſs and ſecure, he joined in their diverſions, and took his exerciſes among them. He wrote poems and orations, and rehearſed them to theſe pirates; and when they expreſſed no admiration, he called them Dunces and Barbarians. Nay, he often threatened to crucify them. They were delighted with theſe freedoms, which

which they imputed to his frank and facetious vein. But as ſoon as the money was brought from Miletus, and he had recovered his liberty, he manned ſome veſſels in the port of * Miletus, in order to attack theſe corſairs. He found them ſtill lying at anchor by the iſland, took moſt of them, together with the money, and impriſoned them at Pergamus. After which, he applied to Junius, who then commanded in Aſia, becauſe to him, as prætor, it belonged to puniſh them. Junius having an eye upon the money, which was a conſiderable ſum, demurred about the matter; and Cæſar, perceiving his intention, returned to Pergamus, and crucified all the priſoners, as he had often threatened to do at Pharmacuſa, when they took him to be in jeſt.

When the power of Sylla came to be upon the decline, Cæſar's friends preſſed him to return to Rome. But firſt he went to Rhodes, to ſtudy under Apollonius †, the ſon of Molo, who taught rhetoric there

* Dacier reads *Melos*, which was one of the Cyclades, but does not mention his authority.

† It ſhould be *Apollonius Molo*, not Apollonius the ſon of Molo. According to Suetonius, Cæſar had ſtudied under him at Rome before this adventure of the pirates. Thus far Dacier; and Ruauld and other critics ſay the ſame. Yet Strabo (L. xiv. p. 655, 660, 661) tells us, Molo and Apollonius were two different men. He affirms that they were both natives of Alabanda, a city of Caria; that they were both ſcholars of Menacles the Alabandian; and that they both profeſſed the ſame art at Rhodes, though Molo went thither later than Apollonius, who, on that account, applied to him that of Homer, Οὐκ μολων. Cicero likewiſe ſeems to diſtinguiſh them, calling the one Molo, and the other Apollonius the Alabandian, eſpecially in his firſt book *De Oratore*, where he introduces M. Antonius ſpeaking of him thus: "For this one "thing I always liked Apollonius the Alabandian; though he "taught for money, he did not ſuffer any whom he thought inca-"pable of making a figure as orators, to loſe their time and labour "with him, but ſent them home, exhorting them to apply them-"ſelves to that art, for which they were, in his opinion, beſt qua-"lified."

To ſolve this difficulty, we are willing to ſuppoſe, with Ruauld, that there were two Molo's, cotemporaries; for the teſtimonies of Suetonius (in Cæſare, c. 4.) and of Quintilian (Inſtitut. l. xii. c. 6.) that Cæſar and Cicero were pupils to Apollonius Molo, can never be over-ruled.

with great reputation, and was a man of irreproachable manners. Cicero alſo was one of his ſcholars. Cæſar is ſaid to have had happy talents from nature for a public ſpeaker, and he did not want an ambition to cultivate them; ſo that undoubtedly he was the ſecond orator in Rome; and he might have been the firſt, had he not rather choſen the preeminence in arms. Thus he never roſe to that pitch of eloquence to which his powers would have brought him, being engaged in thoſe wars and political intrigues, which at laſt gained him the empire. Hence it was, that afterwards, in his *Anticato*, which he wrote in anſwer to a book of Cicero's, he deſired his readers "not to expect in the performance of a military man the ſtyle "of a complete orator, who had beſtowed all his time "upon ſuch ſtudies."

Upon his return to Rome, he impeached Dolabella for miſdemeanors in his government, and many cities of Greece ſupported the charge by their evidence. Dolabella was acquitted. Cæſar, however, in acknowledgment of the readineſs Greece had ſhewn to ſerve him, aſſiſted her in her proſecution of Publius Antonius for corruption. The cauſe was brought before Marcus Lucullus, prætor of Macedonia; and Cæſar pleaded it in ſo powerful a manner, that the defendant was forced to appeal to the tribunes of the people; alleging that he was not upon equal terms with the Greeks in Greece.

The eloquence he ſhewed at Rome in defending perſons impeached, gained him a conſiderable intereſt, and his engaging addreſs and converſation carried the hearts of the people. For he had a condeſcenſion not to be expected from ſo young a man. At the ſame time, the freedom of his table, and the magnificence of his expence, gradually increaſed his power, and brought him into the adminiſtration. Thoſe who envied him, imagined that his reſources would ſoon fail, and therefore, at firſt, made light of his popularity, conſiderable as it was. But when it was grown to ſuch a height

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that it was ſcarce poſſible to demoliſh it, and had a plain tendency to the ruin of the conſtitution, they found out, when it was too late, that no beginnings of things, however ſmall, are to be neglected; becauſe continuance makes them great; and the very contempt they are held in, gives them opportunity to gain that ſtrength which cannot be reſiſted.

Cicero ſeems to be the firſt who ſuſpected ſomething formidable from the flattering calm of Cæſar's political conduct, and ſaw deep and dangerous deſigns under the ſmiles of his benignity. "I perceive," ſaid the orator, "an inclination for tyranny in all he projects "and executes; but, on the other hand, when I ſee "him adjuſting his hair with ſo much exactneſs, and "ſcratching his head with one finger, I can hardly "think that ſuch a man can conceive ſo vaſt and fatal "a deſign, as the deſtruction of the Roman common-"wealth." This, however, was an obſervation made at a much later period than that we are upon.

The firſt proof he had of the affection of the people, was when he obtained a tribuneſhip in the army before his competitor Caius Popilius. The ſecond was more remarkable: It was on occaſion of his pronouncing from the roſtrum the funeral oration of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius, in which he failed not to do juſtice to her virtue. At the ſame time he had the hardineſs to produce the images of Marius, which had not been ſeen before during Sylla's adminiſtration; Marius and all his adherents having been declared enemies to the ſtate. Upon this ſome began to raiſe a clamour againſt Cæſar; but they were ſoon ſilenced by the acclamations and plaudits of the people, expreſſing their admiration of his courage in bringing the honours of Marius again to light, after ſo long a ſuppreſſion, and raiſing them, as it were, from the ſhades below.

It had long been the cuſtom in Rome, for the aged women to have funeral panegyrics, but not the young. Cæſar firſt broke through it, by pronouncing one for his own wife, who died in her prime. This contributed

to

to fix him in the affections of the people: They ſympathized with him, and conſidered him as a man of great good-nature, and one who had the ſocial duties at heart.

After the funeral of his wife, he went out quæſtor into Spain with * Antiſtius Veter the prætor, whom he honoured all his life after; and when he came to be prætor himſelf, he acknowledged the favour by taking Veter's ſon for his quæſtor. When that commiſſion was expired, he took Pompeia to his third wife; having a daughter by his firſt wife Cornelia, whom he afterwards married to Pompey the Great.

Many people, who obſerved his prodigious expence, thought he was purchaſing a ſhort and tranſient honour very dear, but, in fact, he was gaining the greateſt things he could aſpire to, at a ſmall price. He is ſaid to have been a thouſand three hundred talents in debt before he got any public employment. When he had the ſuperintendance of the Appian Road, he laid out a great deal of his own money; and when ædile, he not only exhibited three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators, but in the other diverſions of the theatre, in the proceſſions and public tables, he far outſhone the moſt ambitious that had gone before him. Theſe things attached the people to him ſo ſtrongly, that every one ſought for new honours and employments, to recompenſe his generoſity.

There were two factions in the ſtate; that of Sylla, which was the ſtrongeſt, and that of Marius, which was in a broken and low condition. Cæſar's ſtudy was to raiſe and revive the latter. In purſuance of which intention, when his exhibitions, as ædile, were in the higheſt reputation, he cauſed new images of Marius to be privately made, together with a repreſentation of his victories adorned with trophies, and one night placed them in the capitol. Next morning theſe figures were ſeen gliſtering with gold, of the moſt exquiſite work-

* See Vell. Paterculus, II. 43.

manſhip,

manſhip, and bearing inſcriptions which declared them the atchievements of Marius againſt the Cimbri. The ſpectators were aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of the man who erected them; nor was it difficult to know who he was. The report ſpread with the utmoſt rapidity, and the whole city aſſembled to ſee them. Some exclaimed, that Cæſar plainly affected the tyranny, by openly producing thoſe honours which the laws had condemned to darkneſs and oblivion. This, they ſaid, was done to make a trial of the people, whom he had prepared by his careſſes, whether they would ſuffer themſelves to be entirely caught by his venal benefactions, and let him play upon them and make what innovations he pleaſed. On the other hand, the partizans of Marius encouraging each other, ran to the capitol in vaſt numbers, and made it echo with their plaudits. Some of them even wept for joy at the ſight of Marius's countenance. They beſtowed the higheſt encomiums upon Cæſar, and declared he was the only relation worthy of that great man.

The ſenate was aſſembled on the occaſion, and Lutatius Catulus, a man of the greateſt reputation in Rome, roſe and accuſed Cæſar. In his ſpeech againſt him was this memorable expreſſion, "You no "longer attack the commonwealth by mines, but by "open battery." Cæſar, however, defended his cauſe ſo well, that the ſenate gave it for him: And his admirers, ſtill more elated, deſired him to keep up a ſpirit of enterprize, for he might gain every thing with the conſent of the people, and eaſily become the firſt man in Rome.

Amidſt theſe tranſactions, died Metellus, the principal pontiff. The office was ſollicited by Iſauricus and Catulus, two of the moſt illuſtrious men in Rome, and of the greateſt intereſt in the ſenate. Nevertheleſs, Cæſar did not give place to them, but preſented himſelf to the people as a candidate. The pretenſions and proſpects of the competitors ſeemed almoſt equal, and Catulus, more uneaſy than the others under the uncertainty

tainty of ſucceſs, on account of his ſuperior dignity, ſent privately to Cæſar, and offered him large ſums, on condition that he would deſiſt from this high purſuit. But he anſwered, "He would rather borrow ſtill "larger ſums to carry his election."

When the day of election came, Cæſar's mother attending him to the door, with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her and ſaid, "My dear mother, you "will ſee me this day either chief pontiff or an exile." There never was any thing more ſtrongly conteſted; the ſuffrages, however, gave it for Cæſar. The ſenate, and others of the principal citizens, were greatly alarmed at this ſucceſs; they apprehended that he would now puſh the people into all manner of licentiouſneſs and miſrule. Therefore, Piſo and Catulus blamed Cicero much for ſparing Cæſar, when Catiline's conſpiracy gave him an opportunity to take him off. Catiline, whoſe intention was not ſo much to make alterations in the conſtitution, as entirely to ſubvert it, and throw all into confuſion, upon ſome ſlight ſuſpicions appearing againſt him, quitted Rome before the whole was unravelled; but he left behind him Lentulus and Cethegus to conduct the conſpiracy within the city.

Whether Cæſar privately encouraged and ſupported them, is uncertain: What is univerſally agreed upon, is this. The guilt of thoſe two conſpirators clearly appearing, Cicero, as conſul, took the ſenſe of the ſenators as to the puniſhment that ſhould be inflicted upon them; and they all gave it for death, till it came to Cæſar's turn, who, in a ſtudied ſpeech, repreſented, "That it ſeemed neither agreeable to juſtice, nor to the "cuſtoms of their country, to put men of their birth "and dignity to death, without an open trial, except "in caſe of extreme neceſſity. But that they ſhould "rather be kept in priſon, in any of the cities of Italy "that Cicero might pitch upon, till Catiline was "ſubdued; and then the ſenate might take cogni-"zance of the crimes of each conſpirator in full peace, "and at their leiſure."

As

As there appeared ſomething humane in this opinion, and it was powerfully enforced by the orator, thoſe who gave their voices afterwards, and even many who had declared for the other ſide of the queſtion, came into it. But Cato and Catulus carried it for death. Cato, in a ſevere ſpeech againſt the opinion of Cæſar, ſcrupled not to declare his ſuſpicions of *him*; and this, with other arguments, had ſo much weight, that the two conſpirators were delivered to the executioner. Nay, as Cæſar was going out of the ſenate houſe, ſeveral of the young men, who guarded Cicero's perſon, ran upon him with their drawn ſwords; but we are told that Curio covered him with his gown, and ſo carried him off; and that Cicero himſelf, when the young men looked at him for a nod of conſent, refuſed it, either out of fear of the people, or becauſe he thought the killing him unjuſt and unlawful. If this was true, I know not why Cicero did not mention it in the hiſtory of his conſulſhip. He was blamed, however, afterwards, for not availing himſelf of ſo good an opportunity as he then had, and for being influenced by his fears of the people, who were indeed ſtrongly attached to Cæſar. For, a few days after, when Cæſar entered the ſenate, and endeavoured to clear himſelf of the ſuſpicions he lay under, his defence was received with indignation and loud reproaches; and as they ſate longer than uſual, the people beſet the houſe, and with violent outcries demanded Cæſar, abſolutely inſiſting on his being diſmiſſed.

Cato, therefore, fearing an inſurrection of the indigent populace, who were foremoſt in all ſeditions, and who had fixed their hopes upon Cæſar, perſuaded the ſenate to order a diſtribution of bread-corn among them every month, which added five million five hundred thouſand *drachmas* to the yearly expences of the ſtate*. This expedient certainly obviated the preſent danger, by ſeaſonably reducing the power of Cæſar,

* But this diſtribution did not continue long.

who

who was now prætor elect, and more formidable on that account.

Cæſar's prætorſhip was not productive of any trouble to the commonwealth, but that year there happened a diſagreeable event in his own family. There was a young Patrician, named Publius Clodius, of great fortune, and diſtinguiſhed eloquence, but at the ſame time one of the foremoſt among the vicious and the profligate. This man entertained a paſſion for Pompeia, Cæſar's wife, nor did ſhe diſcountenance it. But the womens apartment was ſo narrowly obſerved, and all the ſteps of Pompeia ſo much attended to by Aurelia, Cæſar's mother, who was a woman of great virtue and prudence, that it was difficult and hazardous for them to have an interview.

Among the goddeſſes the Romans worſhip, there is one they call *Bona Dea*, *the good goddeſs*, as the Greeks have one they call *Gynæcea*, *the patroneſs of the women*. The Phrygians claim her as the mother of their king Midas; the Romans ſay, ſhe was a Dryad, and wife of Faunus; and the Greeks aſſure us, ſhe is that mother of Bacchus, whoſe name is not to be uttered. For this reaſon, the women, when they keep her feſtival, cover their tents with vine branches; and, according to the fable, a ſacred dragon lies at the feet of the goddeſs. No man is allowed to be preſent, nor even to be in the houſe, at the celebration of her orgies. Many of the ceremonies the women then perform by themſelves, are ſaid to be like thoſe in the feaſts of Orpheus.

When the anniverſary of the feſtival comes, the conſul or prætor (for it is at the houſe of one of them it is kept) goes out, and not a male is left in it. The wife now having the houſe to herſelf, decorates it in a proper manner; the myſteries are performed in the night; and the whole is ſpent in muſic and play. Pompeia this year was the directreſs of the feaſt. Clodius, who was yet a beardleſs youth, thought he might paſs in woman's apparel undiſcovered, and

and having taken the garb and inſtruments of a female muſician, perfectly reſembled one. He found the door open, and was ſafely introduced by a maid-ſervant who knew the affair. She ran before to tell Pompeia; and as ſhe ſtayed a conſiderable time, Clodius durſt not remain where ſhe left him, but wandered about the great houſe, endeavouring to avoid the lights. At laſt, Aurelia's woman fell in with him, and ſuppoſing ſhe ſpoke to a woman, challenged him to play. Upon his refuſing it, ſhe drew him into the midſt of the room, and aſked him who he was, and whence he came? He ſaid, he waited for Abra, Pompeia's maid; for that was her name. His voice immediately detected him: Aurelia's woman ran up to the lights and the company, crying out ſhe had found a man in the houſe. The thing ſtruck them all with terror and aſtoniſhment. Aurelia put a ſtop to the ceremonies, and covered up the ſymbols of their myſterious worſhip. She ordered the doors to be made faſt, and with lighted torches hunted up and down for the man. At length Clodius was found, lurking in the chamber of the maid-ſervant who had introduced him. The women knew him, and turned him out of the houſe; after which, they went home immediately, though it was yet night, and informed their huſbands of what had happened.

Next morning the report of the ſacrilegious attempt ſpread through all Rome, and nothing was talked of, but that Clodius ought to make ſatisfaction with his life to the family he had offended, as well as to the city, and to the gods. One of the tribunes impeached him of impiety; and the principal ſenators ſtrengthened the charge, by accuſing him, to his face, of many villainous debaucheries, and, among the reſt, of inceſt with his own ſiſter, the wife of Lucullus. On the other hand, the people exerted themſelves with equal vigour in his defence, and the great influence the fear of them had upon his judges, was of much ſervice to his cauſe. Cæſar immediately divorced Pompeia; yet,

yet, when called as an evidence on the trial, he declared he knew nothing of what was alledged againſt Clodius. As this declaration appeared ſomewhat ſtrange, the accuſer demanded, why, if that was the caſe, he had divorced his wife: "Becauſe," ſaid he, "I would have the chaſtity of my wife clear even "of ſuſpicion." Some ſay, Cæſar's evidence was according to his conſcience; others, that he gave it to oblige the people, who were ſet upon ſaving Clodius. Be that as it might, Clodius came off clear; moſt of the judges having confounded * the letters upon the tablets, that they might neither expoſe themſelves to the reſentment of the Plebeians, if they condemned him, nor loſe their credit with the Patricians, if they acquitted him.

* Here it is συγκεχυμενας τοις γραμμασι τας γνωμας. M. Dacier would correct by this the paſſage in the Life of Cicero, which is τας διλτους συγκεχυμενας τοις γραμμασι. He tranſlates it, *la plûpart des juges ayant donné leurs avis ſur pluſieurs affaires en même tems; the greateſt part of the judges comprehending other cauſes along with this in their ſentence.* But that could not be the caſe; for that manner of paſſing ſentence, or rather of paſſing bills, was forbidden by the Lex Cæcilia et Didia. Beſides, it would not have anſwered the purpoſe: Their ſentence would have been equally known. We therefore rather chuſe to correct this paſſage by that in the Life of Cicero.

After the pleadings were finiſhed, the prætor gave each of the judges three tablets; one marked with the letter *A*, which acquitted, another with the letter *C*, which condemned, and a third with *N. L. Non Liquet*; *the caſe is not clear.* Each judge put into an urn which tablet he pleaſed: And as they withdrew to conſult before they did it, it was eaſy to deface or obſcure any letters upon the tablets, becauſe they were only written in wax.

Still there occurs this objection, Would the prætor who was to count them, and paſs ſentence according to the majority, admit of tablets with letters ſo defaced or obſcured? A corrupt one, indeed, might, and interpret them the way he was inclined. But as Plutarch does not ſay *obſcured*, but συγκεχυμενας, *confuſed*, poſſibly he only meant that the judges, inſtead of putting tablets all marked with the ſame letter, put in ſeveral of each kind, in order to prevent the diſpleaſure of the ſenate or the people from fixing upon any of them in particular.

The

The government of Spain * was allotted Cæſar after his prætorſhip. But his circumſtances were ſo indifferent, and his creditors ſo clamorous and troubleſome when he was preparing for his departure, that he was forced to apply to Craſſus, the richeſt man in Rome, who ſtood in need of Cæſar's warmth and vigour to keep up the balance againſt Pompey. Craſſus, therefore, took upon him to anſwer the moſt inexorable of his creditors, and engaged for eight hundred and thirty talents; which procured him liberty to ſet out for his province.

It is ſaid, that when he came to a little town, in paſſing the Alps, his friends, by way of mirth, took occaſion to ſay, "Can there here be any diſputes for "offices, any contentions for precedency, or ſuch envy "and ambition as we ſee among the great?" To which Cæſar anſwered, with great ſerioufneſs, "I aſ-"ſure you I had rather be the firſt man here, than the "ſecond man in Rome."

"In like manner we are told, that when he was in Spain, he beſtowed ſome leiſure hours on reading part of the hiſtory of Alexander, and was ſo much affected with it, that he ſat penſive a long time, and at laſt burſt out into tears. As his friends were wondering what might be the reaſon, he ſaid, "Do you think I "have not ſufficient cauſe for concern, when Alex-"ander at my age reigned over ſo many conquered "countries, and I have not one glorious atchievement "to boaſt?"

From this principle it was, that immediately upon his arrival in Spain he applied to buſineſs with great diligence, and having added ten new raiſed cohorts to the twenty he received there, he marched againſt the

* It was the government of the farther Spain only that fell to his lot. This province comprehended Luſitania and Bætica, that is, Portugal and Andaluſia. Caſaubon ſuppoſed the word ἐκτος to have ſlipt out of the text between τὴν and Ἱσπανίαν; but it is not a matter of importance enough, to alter the text for it.

*Callæcians and Luſitanians, defeated them, and penetrated to the ocean, reducing nations by the way that had not felt the Roman yoke. His conduct in peace was not inferior to that in the war; he reſtored harmony among the cities, and removed the occaſions of quarrel between debtors and creditors. For he ordered that the creditor ſhould have two-thirds of the debtor's income, and the debtor the remaining third, till the whole was paid. By theſe means he left the province with great reputation, though he had filled his own coffers, and enriched his ſoldiers with booty, who, upon one of his victories, ſaluted him *Imperator*.

At his return he found himſelf under a troubleſome dilemma: Thoſe that ſollicit a triumph being obliged to remain without the walls, and ſuch as ſue for the conſulſhip, to make their perſonal appearance in Rome. As theſe were things that he could not reconcile, and his arrival happened at the time of the election of conſuls, he applied to the ſenate for permiſſion to ſtand candidate, though abſent, and offer his ſervice by his friends. Cato ſtrongly oppoſed his requeſt, inſiſting on the prohibition by law; and when he ſaw numbers influenced by Cæſar, he attempted to prevent his ſucceſs by gaining time; with which view he ſpun out the debate till it was too late to conclude upon any thing that day. Cæſar then determined to give up the triumph, and ſollicit the conſulſhip.

As ſoon as he had entered the city, he went to work upon an expedient which deceived all the world except Cato. It was the reconciling of Pompey and Craſſus, two of the moſt powerful men in Rome. By making them friends, Cæſar ſecured the intereſt of both to himſelf; and while he ſeemed to be only doing an office of humanity, he was undermining the conſtitution. For it was not, what moſt people imagine, the diſa-

* In the text, Καλλαϊκος. Cruſerius renders it *Gallæcos*; but, according to Cellarius, he is under a miſtake.

greement

greement between Cæſar and Pompey that produced the civil wars, but rather their union. They firſt combined to ruin the authority of the ſenate, and when that was effected, they parted to purſue each his own deſigns. Cato, who often propheſied what would be the conſequence, was then looked upon as a troubleſome and over-buſy man; afterwards he was eſteemed a wiſe, though not a fortunate counſellor.

Meantime Cæſar walked to the place of election between Craſſus and Pompey, and under the auſpices of their friendſhip was declared conſul with diſtinguiſhed honour, having Calpurnius Bibulus given him for his colleague. He had no ſooner entered upon his office, than he propoſed laws not ſo ſuitable to a conſul, as to a ſeditious tribune; I mean the bills for a diviſion of lands and a diſtribution of corn, which were entirely calculated to pleaſe the Plebeians. As the virtuous and patriotic part of the ſenate oppoſed them, he was furniſhed with the pretext he had long wanted: He proteſted with great warmth, "That they threw him "into the arms of the people againſt his will, and that "the rigorous and diſgraceful oppoſition of the ſenate, "laid him under the diſagreeable neceſſity of ſeeking "protection from the commons." Accordingly he did immediately apply to them.

Craſſus planted himſelf on one ſide of him, and Pompey on the other. He demanded of them aloud, "Whether they approved his laws?" and, as they anſwered in the affirmative, he deſired their aſſiſtance againſt thoſe who threatened to oppoſe them with the ſword. They declared, they would aſſiſt him; and Pompey added, "Againſt thoſe who come with the "ſword, I will bring both ſword and buckler." This expreſſion gave the Patricians great pain: It appeared not only unworthy of his character, the reſpect the ſenate had for him, and the reverence due to them, but even deſperate and frantic. The people, however, were pleaſed with it.

Cæſar was willing to avail himſelf ſtill farther of Pompey's intereſt. His daughter Julia was betrothed to Servilius Cæpio, but notwithſtanding that engagement, he gave her to Pompey; and told Servilius he ſhould have Pompey's daughter, whoſe hand was not properly at liberty, for ſhe was promiſed to Fauſtus the ſon of Sylla. Soon after this, Cæſar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piſo, and procured the conſulſhip for Piſo for the year enſuing. Meanwhile Cato exclaimed loudly againſt theſe proceedings, and called both gods and men to witneſs, how inſupportable it was, that the firſt dignities of the ſtate ſhould be proſtituted by marriages, and that this traffick of women ſhould gain them what governments and forces they pleaſed.

As for Bibulus, Cæſar's collegue, when he found his oppoſition to their new laws entirely unſucceſsful, and that his life, as well as Cato's, was often endangered in the public aſſemblies, he ſhut himſelf up in his own houſe during the remainder of the year.

Immediately after this marriage, Pompey filled the *forum* with armed men, and got the laws enacted, which Cæſar had propoſed merely to ingratiate himſelf with the people. At the ſame time the government of Gaul, both on this and the other ſide the Alps, was decreed to Cæſar for five years; to which was added Illyricum, with four legions. As Cato ſpoke againſt theſe regulations, Cæſar ordered him to be taken into cuſtody, imagining he would appeal to the tribunes. But when he ſaw him going to priſon without ſpeaking one word, and obſerved that it not only gave the nobility great uneaſineſs, but that the people, out of reverence for Cato's virtue, followed him in melancholy ſilence, he whiſpered one of the tribunes to take him out of the *lictors* hands.

Very few of the body of ſenators followed Cæſar on this occaſion to the houſe. The greateſt part, offended at ſuch acts of tyranny, had withdrawn. Conſidius, one of the oldeſt ſenators that attended, taking occaſion

occaſion to obſerve, "that it was the ſoldiers and "naked ſwords that kept the reſt from aſſembling," Cæſar ſaid, "Why does not fear keep you at home, "too?" Conſidius replied, "Old age is my defence; "the ſmall remains of my life deſerve not much care "or precaution."

The moſt diſgraceful ſtep, however, that Cæſar took in his whole conſulſhip, was the getting Clodius elected tribune of the people; the ſame who had attempted to diſhonour his bed, and had profaned the myſterious rites of the Good Goddeſs. He pitched upon him to ruin Cicero; nor would he ſet out for his government, before he had embroiled them, and procured Cicero's baniſhment. For hiſtory informs us, that all theſe tranſactions preceded his wars in Gaul. The wars he conducted there, and the many glorious campaigns in which he reduced that country, repreſent him as another man: We begin, as it were, with a new life, and have to follow him in a quite different track. As a warrior and a general, we behold him not in the leaſt inferior to the greateſt and moſt admired commanders the world ever produced. For whether we compare him with the Fabii, the Scipio's, and Metelli, with the generals of his own time, or thoſe who flouriſhed a little before him, with Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, or with Pompey himſelf, whoſe fame in every military excellence reached the ſkies, Cæſar's atchievements bear away the palm. One he ſurpaſſed in the difficulty of the ſcene of action, another in the extent of the countries he ſubdued; this, in the number and ſtrength of the enemies he overcame, that, in the ſavage manners and treacherous diſpoſition of the people he humanized; one, in mildneſs and clemency to his priſoners, another, in bounty and munificence to his troops; and all, in the number of battles that he won, and enemies that he killed. For in leſs than ten years war in Gaul, he took eight hundred cities by aſſault, conquered three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three millions of

men, one million of which he cut in pieces, and made another million priſoners.

Such, moreover, was the affection of his ſoldiers, and their attachment to his perſon, that they who under other commanders were nothing above the common rate of men, became invincible where Cæſar's glory was concerned, and met the moſt dreadful dangers with a courage that nothing could reſiſt. To give three or four inſtances:

Acilius, in a ſea-fight near Marſeilles, after he had boarded one of the enemy's ſhips, had his right hand cut off with a ſword, yet he ſtill held his buckler in his left, and puſhed it in the enemy's faces, till he defeated them, and took the veſſel.

Caſſius Scæva, in the battle of Dyrrhachium, after he had an eye ſhot out with an arrow, his ſhoulder wounded with one javelin, his thigh run through with another, and had received * a hundred and thirty darts upon his ſhield, called out to the enemy, as if he would ſurrender himſelf. Upon this, two of them came up to him, and he gave one of them ſuch a ſtroke upon the ſhoulder with his ſword that the arm dropt off; the other he wounded in the face, and made him retire. His comrades then came up to his aſſiſtance, and he ſaved his life.

In Britain ſome of the vanguard happened to be entangled in a deep moraſs, and were there attacked by the enemy, when a private ſoldier, in the ſight of Cæſar, threw himſelf into the midſt of the aſſailants, and after prodigious exertions of valour, beat off the Barbarians, and reſcued the men. After which, the ſoldier, with much difficulty, partly by ſwimming, partly by wading, paſſed the moraſs, but in the paſ-

* Cæſar (Bell. Civ. l. iii.) ſays, this brave ſoldier received two hundred and thirty darts upon his ſhield, and adds, that he rewarded his bravery with two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, and promoted him from the eighth rank to the firſt. He likewiſe ordered the ſoldiers of that cohort double pay, beſide other military rewards.

ſage

ſage loſt his ſhield. Cæſar, and thoſe about him, aſtoniſhed at the action, ran to meet him with acclamations of joy; but the ſoldier in great diſtreſs threw himſelf at Cæſar's feet, and with tears in his eyes begged pardon for the loſs of his ſhield.

In Africa, Scipio having taken one of Cæſar's ſhips, on board of which was Granius Petronius, lately appointed quæſtor, put the reſt to the ſword, but told the quæſtor, "He gave him his life." Petronius anſwered, "It is not the cuſtom of Cæſar's ſoldiers to "take but to give quarter," and immediately plunged his ſword in his breaſt.

This courage, and this great ambition, were cultivated and cheriſhed, in the firſt place, by the generous manner in which Cæſar rewarded his troops, and the honours which he paid them. For his whole conduct ſhewed, that he did not accumulate riches in the courſe of his wars, to miniſter to luxury, or to ſerve any pleaſures of his own, but that he laid them up in a common bank, as prizes to be obtained by diſtinguiſhed valour, and that he conſidered himſelf no farther rich, than as he was in a condition to do juſtice to the merit of his ſoldiers. Another thing that contributed to make them invincible, was their ſeeing Cæſar always take his ſhare in danger, and never deſire any exemption from labour and fatigue.

As for his expoſing his perſon to danger, they were not ſurprized at it, becauſe they knew his paſſion for glory; but they were aſtoniſhed at his patience under toil; ſo far in all appearance above his bodily powers. For he was of a ſlender make, fair, of a delicate conſtitution, and ſubject to violent head-achs and epileptic fits. He had the firſt attack of the falling ſickneſs at Corduba. He did not, however, make theſe diſorders a pretence for indulging himſelf. On the contrary, he ſought in war a remedy for his infirmities, endeavouring to ſtrengthen his conſtitution by long marches, by ſimple diet, by ſeldom coming under

covert. Thus he contended with his diſtemper, and fortified himſelf againſt its attacks.

When he ſlept, it was commonly upon a march, either in a chariot or a litter, that reſt might be no hindrance to buſineſs. In the day-time he viſited the caſtles, cities, and fortified camps, with a ſervant at his ſide, whom he employed, on ſuch occaſions, to write for him, and with a ſoldier behind, who carried his ſword. By theſe means he travelled ſo faſt, and with ſo little interruption, as to reach the Rhone in eight days after his firſt ſetting out for thoſe parts from Rome.

He was a good horſeman in his early years, and brought that exerciſe to ſuch perfection by practice, that he could ſit a horſe at full ſpeed with his hands behind him. In this expedition he alſo accuſtomed himſelf to dictate letters as he rode on horſeback, and found ſufficient employment for two ſecretaries at once, or, according to Oppius, for more. It is alſo ſaid, that Cæſar was the firſt who contrived to communicate his thoughts by letter to his friends, who were in the ſame city with him, when any urgent affair required it, and the multitude of buſineſs or great extent of the city did not admit of an interview.

Of his indifference with reſpect to diet they give us this remarkable proof. Happening to ſup with Valerius Leo, a friend of his, at Milan, there was ſweet ointment poured upon the aſparagus, inſtead of oil. Cæſar eat of it freely notwithſtanding, and afterwards rebuked his friends for expreſſing their diſlike of it. "It was enough," ſaid he, "to forbear eating, if it "was diſagreeable to you. He who finds fault with "any ruſticity, is himſelf a ruſtic."

One day, as he was upon an excurſion, a violent ſtorm forced him to ſeek ſhelter in a poor man's hut, where there was only one room, and that ſcarce big enough for a man to ſleep in. Turning, therefore, to his friends, he ſaid, "Honours for the great, and ne-"ceſſaries for the infirm," and immediately gave up the

the room to Oppius, while himſelf and the reſt of the company ſlept under a ſhed at the door.

His firſt expedition in Gaul was againſt the Helvetians and the Tigurini; who, after having burnt twelve of their own towns and four hundred villages, put themſelves under march, in order to penetrate into Italy, through that part of Gaul which was ſubject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutones would have done before them. Nor were theſe new adventurers inferior to the other in courage; and in numbers they were equal; being in all three hundred thouſand, of which a hundred and ninety thouſand were fighting men. Cæſar ſent * his lieutenant, Labienus, againſt the Tigurini, who routed them near the river Arar. But the Helvetians ſuddenly attacked Cæſar, as he was upon the march to † a confederate town. He gained, however, a ſtrong poſt for his troops, notwithſtanding the ſurprize; and when he had drawn them up, his horſe was brought him. Upon which he ſaid, "When "I have won the battle I ſhall want my horſe for the "purſuit; at preſent let us march, as we are, againſt "the enemy." Accordingly he charged them with great vigour on foot ‡.

It coſt him a long and ſevere conflict to drive their army out of the field; but he found the greateſt difficulty when he came to their rampart of carriages; for not only the men made a moſt obſtinate ſtand there, but the very women and children fought till they were cut in pieces; inſomuch that the battle did not end before midnight.

* Cæſar ſays himſelf, that he left Labienus to guard the works he had raiſed from the Lake of Geneva to Mount Jura, and that he marched in perſon, at the head of three legions, to attack the Tigurini in their paſſage over the Arar, now the Saone, and killed great numbers of them.

† Bibracte, now Autun.

‡ He ſent back his horſe, and the reſt followed his example. This he did to prevent all hopes of a retreat, as well as to ſhew his troops that he would take his ſhare in all the danger. *Vide* Bell. Gall. lib. i.

To

To this great action he added a ſtill greater. He collected the Barbarians who had eſcaped out of the battle, to the number of an hundred thouſand, and upwards, and obliged them to reſettle the country they had relinquiſhed, and to rebuild the cities they had burnt. This he did, in fear that if the country were left without inhabitants, the Germans would paſs the Rhine, and ſeize it.

His ſecond war was in defence of the Gauls againſt the Germans, though he had before honoured their king Arioviſtus with the title of an ally of Rome. They proved inſupportable neighbours * to thoſe he had ſubdued, and it was eaſy to ſee, that inſtead of being ſatisfied with their preſent acquiſitions, if opportunity offered, they would extend their conqueſts over all Gaul. He found, however, his officers, particularly thoſe of the young nobility, afraid of this expedition; for they had entered into Cæſar's ſervice only in hopes of living luxuriouſly, and making their fortunes. He therefore called them together, and told them, before the whole army, "That they were at liberty to retire, "and needed not hazard their perſons againſt their in-"clination, ſince they were ſo unmanly and ſpiritleſs. "For his part, he would march with the tenth legion "only againſt thoſe Barbarians; for they were neither "better men than the Cimbrians, nor was he a worſe "general than Marius." Upon this the tenth legion deputed ſome of their corps to thank him. The other legions laid the whole blame upon their officers, and all followed him with great ſpirit and alacrity. After a march of ſeveral days, they encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

* The Ædui implored his protection againſt Arioviſtus, king of the Germans, who, taking advantage of the differences which had long ſubſiſted between them and the Arverni, had joined the latter, made himſelf maſter of great part of the country of the Sequani, and obliged the Ædui to give him their children as hoſtages. The Ædui were the people of Autun; the Arverni of Auvergne; and the Sequani of Franche Comté. Cæs. Bell. Gall. lib. i.

Cæſar's

Cæſar's arrival broke the confidence of Arioviſtus. Inſtead of expecting that the Romans would come and attack him, he had ſuppoſed they would not dare to ſtand the Germans, when they went in queſt of them. He was much ſurprized, therefore, at this bold attempt of Cæſar, and, what was worſe, he ſaw his own troops were diſheartened. They were diſpirited ſtill more by the prophecies of their matrons who had the care of divining, and uſed to do it by the eddies of rivers, the windings, the murmurs or other noiſe made by the ſtream. On this occaſion they charged the army not to give battle before the new moon appeared.

Cæſar having got information of theſe matters, and ſeeing the Germans lie cloſe in their camp, thought it better to engage them while thus dejected, than to ſit ſtill and wait their time. For this reaſon he attacked their entrenchments and the hills upon which they were poſted; which provoked them to ſuch a degree, that they deſcended in great fury to the plain. They fought, and were entirely routed. Cæſar purſued them to the Rhine, which was * three hundred furlongs from the field of battle, covering all the way with dead bodies and ſpoils. Arioviſtus reached the river time enough to get over with a few troops. The number of killed is ſaid to have amounted to eighty thouſand.

After he had thus terminated the war, he left his army in winter-quarters in the country of the Sequani, and repaired to Gaul, on this ſide the Po, which was part of his province, in order to have an eye upon the tranſactions in Rome. For the river Rubicon parts the reſt of Italy from Ciſalpine Gaul. During his ſtay there, he carried on a variety of ſtate-intrigues. Great numbers came from Rome to pay their reſpects to him, and he ſent them all away ſatisfied; ſome

* Cæſar ſays, it was only five miles from the field of battle; therefore, inſtead of τριακοσιων, we ſhould read πεντεκαιεικοσια.

laden

laden with preſents, and others happy in hope. In the ſame manner throughout all his wars, without Pompey's obſerving it, he was conquering his enemies by the arms of the Roman citizens, and gaining the citizens by the money of his enemies.

As ſoon as he had intelligence that the Belgæ, who were the moſt powerful people in Gaul, and whoſe territories made up a third part of the whole country, had revolted and aſſembled a great army, he marched to that quarter with incredible expedition. He found them ravaging the lands of thoſe Gauls who were allies of Rome, defeated the main body, which made but a feeble reſiſtance, and killed ſuch numbers, that lakes and rivers were filled with the dead, and bridges were formed of their bodies. Such of the inſurgents as dwelt upon the ſea-coaſt, ſurrendered without oppoſition.

From thence he led his army againſt the * Nervii, who live among thick woods. After they had ſecured their families and moſt valuable goods, in the beſt manner they could, in the heart of a large foreſt, at a great diſtance from the enemy, they marched, to the number of ſixty thouſand, and fell upon Cæſar, as he was fortifying his camp, and had not the leaſt notion of ſo ſudden an attack †. They firſt routed his cavalry, and then ſurrounded the twelfth and the ſeventh legions, and killed all the officers. Had not Cæſar ſnatched a buckler from one of his own men, forced

* Their country is now called Hainault and Cambreſis.

† As this attack was unexpected, Cæſar had, in a manner, every thing to do at the ſame inſtant. The banner was to be erected, the charge ſounded, the ſoldiers at a diſtance recalled, the army drawn up, and the ſignal given. In this ſurprize he ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour; and having drawn them up in the beſt manner he could, cauſed the ſignal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous reſiſtance; but as the enemy ſeemed determined either to conquer or die, the ſucceſs was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and the tenth legions did wonders, drove the Atrebates into a neighbouring river, and made a great ſlaughter of them. In another place, the eighth and eleventh legions repulſed the

his way through the combatants before him, and ruſhed upon the Barbarians; or had not the * tenth legion, ſeeing his danger, run from the heights where they were poſted, and mowed down the enemy's ranks, in all probability not one Roman would have ſurvived the battle. But though, encouraged by this bold act of Cæſar, they fought with a ſpirit above their ſtrength, they were not able to make the Nervii turn their backs. Thoſe brave men maintained their ground, and were hewed to pieces upon the ſpot. It is ſaid that out of ſixty thouſand not above five hundred were ſaved, and out of four hundred Nervian ſenators not above three.

Upon the news of this great victory, the ſenate of Rome decreed that ſacrifices ſhould be offered, and all manner of feſtivities kept up, for fifteen days together, which was a longer term of rejoicing than had ever been known before. Indeed, the danger appeared very great, on account of ſo many nations riſing at once; and as Cæſar was the man who ſurmounted it, the affection the people had for him made the rejoicing more brilliant. After he had ſettled the affairs of Gaul, on the other ſide the Alps, he croſſed them again, and wintered near the Po, in order to maintain his intereſt in Rome; where the candidates for the great offices of ſtate were ſupplied with money out of his funds to corrupt the people, and after they had carried their election, did every thing to extend his power. Nay, the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious per-

the Vermandui, and drove them before them. But in the right wing the ſeventh and twelfth legions ſuffered extremely. They were entirely ſurrounded by the Nervii, all the centurions of the fourth cohort being ſlain, and moſt of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, Cæſar ſnatched a buckler from one of the private men, put himſelf at the head of his broken wing, and being joined by the two legions which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the Nervii, already fatigued, with freſh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them.

* In the original it is the twelfth; but it appears from the ſecond book of Cæſar's Commentaries, that we ſhould read here δικατον, not δωδεκατον. Indeed the Paris manuſcript has δικατον.

ſonages

ſonages went to pay their court to him at Lucca, among whom were Pompey, Craſſus, Appius, governor of Sardinia, and Nepos, proconſul in Spain. So that there were a hundred and twenty lictors attending their maſters, and above two hundred ſenators honoured him with their aſſiduities. After they had fixed upon a plan of buſineſs, they parted. Pompey and Craſſus were to be conſuls the year enſuing, and to get Cæſar's government prolonged for five years more, with ſupplies out of the treaſury for his occaſions. The laſt particular appeared extremely abſurd to all men of ſenſe. They who received ſo much of Cæſar's money, perſuaded the ſenate to give him money, as if he was in want of it; or rather, they inſiſted it ſhould be done, and every honeſt man ſighed inwardly while he ſuffered the decree to paſs. Cato, indeed, was abſent, having been ſent with a commiſſion to Cyprus on purpoſe that he might be out of the way. But Favonius, who trod in Cato's ſteps, vigorouſly oppoſed thoſe meaſures; and when he found that his oppoſition availed nothing, he left the houſe, and applied to the people, exclaiming againſt ſuch pernicious counſels. No one, however, attended to him; ſome being overawed by Pompey and Craſſus, and others influenced by regard for Cæſar, in whoſe ſmile alone they lived and all their hopes flouriſhed.

Cæſar, at his return to his army in Gaul, found another furious war lighted up in the country; the Uſipetes * and the Teuchteri, two great German nations, having croſſed the Rhine to make conqueſts. The account of the affair with them we ſhall take from

* The people of the *March* and of Weſtphalia, and thoſe of Munſter and Cleves.

This war happened under the conſulſhip of Craſſus and Pompey, which was in the year of Rome 693. But there were ſeveral intermediate tranſactions of great importance, which Plutarch has omitted, viz. The reduction of the Advatici by Cæſar; of ſeven other nations by P. Craſſus, the ſon of the triumvir; offers of ſubmiſſion from ſeveral nations beyond the Rhine; the attempt upon Galba in his winter quarters at Octodurus, and his brave defence

Cæſar's own * Commentaries. Theſe Barbarians ſent deputies to him to propoſe a ſuſpenſion of arms, which was granted them. Nevertheleſs they attacked him as he was making an excurſion. With only eight hundred horſe, however, who were not prepared for an engagement, he beat their cavalry, which conſiſted of five thouſand. Next day they ſent other deputies to apologize for what had happened, but without any other intention than that of deceiving him again. Theſe agents of theirs he detained, and marched immediately againſt them; thinking it abſurd to ſtand upon honour with ſuch perfidious men, who had not ſcrupled to violate the truce. Yet Canuſius writes, that when the ſenate were voting a public thankſgiving and proceſſions on account of the victory, Cato propoſed that Cæſar ſhould be delivered up to the Barbarians, to expiate that breach of faith, and make the divine vengeance fall upon its author, rather than upon Rome.

Of the Barbarians that had paſſed the Rhine, there were four hundred thouſand killed. The few who eſcaped, repaſſed the river, and were ſheltered by a people of Germany called Sicambri. Cæſar laid hold on this pretence againſt that people, but his true motive was an avidity of fame, to be the firſt Roman that ever croſſed the Rhine in an hoſtile manner. In purſuance of his deſign, he threw a bridge over it, though it was remarkably wide in that place, and at the ſame time ſo rough and rapid, that it carried down with it trunks of trees, and other timber, which much ſhocked and weakened the pillars of his bridge. But he drove great piles of wood into the

defence and victory; the ſevere chaſtiſement of the Veneti, who had revolted; and the complete reduction of Aquitaine. Theſe particulars are contained in part of the ſecond and the whole third book of the war in Gaul.

* Ruauld juſtly obſerves, that Plutarch ſhould not have called the Commentaries εφημεριδες, as he does here, but ὑπομνηματα, as uſual.

bottom

bottom of the river above the bridge, both to reſiſt the impreſſion of ſuch bodies, and to break the force of the torrent. By theſe means he exhibited a ſpectacle aſtoniſhing to thought, ſo immenſe a bridge finiſhed in ten days. His army paſſed over it without oppoſition, the Suevi and the Sicambri, the moſt warlike nations in Germany, having retired into the heart of their foreſts, and concealed themſelves in cavities overhung with wood. He laid waſte the enemy's country with fire, and confirmed the *better diſpoſed Germans in the intereſt of Rome; after which he returned into Gaul, having ſpent no more than eighteen days in Germany.

But his expedition into Britain diſcovered the moſt daring ſpirit of enterprize. For he was the firſt who entered the weſtern ocean with a fleet, and embarking his troops on the Atlantic, carried war into an iſland whoſe very exiſtence was doubted. Some writers had repreſented it ſo incredibly large, that others conteſted its being, and conſidered both the name and the thing as a fiction. Yet Cæſar attempted to conquer it, and to extend the Roman empire beyond the bounds of the habitable world. He ſailed thither twice from the oppoſite coaſt in Gaul, and fought many battles, by which the Britons ſuffered more than the Romans gained; for there was nothing worth taking from a people who were ſo poor, and lived in ſo much wretchedneſs †. He did not, however, terminate the war in the manner he could have wiſhed: He only received hoſtages of the king, and appointed the tribute the iſland was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

There he received letters, which were going to be ſent over to him, and by which his friends in Rome informed him, that his daughter, the wife of Pompey, had lately died in child-bed. This was a great affliction both to Pompey and Cæſar. Their friends, too, were

* The Ubii, the people of Cologne.

† It does not appear that there was much corn in Britain in Cæſar's time; for the inhabitants, he ſays, lived chiefly on milk and fleſh. *Lacte et carne vivunt.*

very

very ſenſibly concerned to ſee that alliance diſſolved which kept up the peace and harmony of the ſtate, otherwiſe in a very unſettled condition. For the child ſurvived the mother only a few days. The people took the body of Julia, and carried it, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the tribunes, to the *Campus Martius*, where it was interred.

* As Cæſar's army was now very large, he was forced to divide it for the convenience of winter-quarters; after which he took the road to Italy, according to cuſtom. But he had not been long gone, before the Gauls, riſing again, traverſed the country with conſiderable armies, fell upon the Roman quarters with great fury, and inſulted their entrenchments. The moſt numerous and the ſtrongeſt body of the inſurgents was that under Ambiorix, who attacked Cotta and Titurius in their camp, and cut them off with their whole party. After which, he went and beſieged the legion under the command of Q. Cicero, with ſixty thouſand men; and though the ſpirit of thoſe brave Romans made a reſiſtance above their ſtrength, they were very near being taken, for they were all wounded.

Cæſar, who was at a great diſtance, at laſt getting intelligence of their danger, returned with all expedition; and having collected a body of men, which did not exceed ſeven thouſand, haſtened to the relief of Cicero. The Gauls, who were not ignorant of his motions, raiſed the ſiege, and went to meet him; for they deſpiſed the ſmalineſs of his force, and were confident of victory. Cæſar, to deceive them, made a

* This army conſiſted of eight legions; and as there was almoſt a famine in the country, the conſequence of exceſſive drought, Cæſar was obliged to ſeparate his troops for their better ſubſiſtence. He was therefore under the neceſſity of fixing the quarters at ſuch a diſtance, which would otherwiſe have been impolitic. He tells us, (lib. v.) that all the legions, except one, which was in a quiet country, were poſted within the compaſs of a hundred miles.

feint as if he fled, till he came to a place convenient for a ſmall army to engage a great one, and there he fortified his camp. He gave his men ſtrict orders not to fight, but to throw up a ſtrong rampart, and to barricade their gates in the ſecureſt manner; contriving by all theſe manœuvres to increaſe the enemy's contempt of him. It ſucceeded as he wiſhed; the Gauls came up with great inſolence and diſorder to attack his trenches. Then Cæſar making a ſudden ſally, defeated and deſtroyed the greateſt part of them. This ſucceſs laid the ſpirit of revolt in thoſe parts; and for farther ſecurity he remained all the winter in Gaul, viſiting all the quarters, and keeping a ſharp eye upon every motion towards war. Beſides, he received a reinforcement of three legions in the room of thoſe he had loſt; two of which were lent him by Pompey, and one lately raiſed in Ciſalpine Gaul.

* After this, the ſeeds of hoſtilities, which had long before been privately ſcattered in the more diſtant parts of the country, by the chiefs of the more warlike nations, ſhot up into one of the greateſt and moſt dangerous wars that was ever ſeen in Gaul; whether we conſider the number of troops and ſtore of arms, the treaſures amaſſed for the war, or the ſtrength of the towns and faſtneſſes they occupied. Beſides, it was then the moſt ſevere ſeaſon of the year; the rivers were covered with ice, the foreſts with ſnow, and the fields overflowed in ſuch a manner that they looked like ſo many ponds; the roads lay concealed in ſnow, or in floods diſembogued by the lakes and rivers. So that it ſeemed impoſſible for Cæſar to march, or to purſue any other operations againſt them.

* Plutarch paſſes over the whole ſixth book of Cæſar's commentaries, as he had done the third. Many conſiderable events happened between the victory laſt mentioned, and the affair with Vercingetorix; ſuch as the defeat of the Treviri, Cæſar's ſecond paſſage over the Rhine, and the purſuit of Ambiorix.

Many

Many nations had entered into the league; the principal of which were the * Arverni and † Carnutes. The chief direction of the war was given to Vercingetorix, whoſe father the Gauls had put to death, for attempting at monarchy. Vercingetorix having divided his forces into ſeveral parts, and given them in charge to his lieutenants, had the country at command as far as the Arar. His intention was to raiſe all Gaul againſt Cæſar, now when his enemies were riſing againſt him at Rome. But had he ſtayed a little longer, till Cæſar was actually engaged in the civil war, the terrors of the Gauls would not have been leſs dreadful to Italy now than thoſe of the Cimbri were formerly.

Cæſar, who knew perfectly how to avail himſelf of every advantage in war, particularly of time, was no ſooner informed of this great defection, than he ſet out to chaſtiſe its authors; and by the ſwiftneſs of his march, in ſpite of all the difficulties of a ſevere winter, he ſhewed the Barbarians that his troops could neither be conquered nor reſiſted. For where a courier could ſcarce have been ſuppoſed to come in many days, Cæſar was ſeen with his whole army, ravaging the country, deſtroying the caſtles, ſtorming the cities, and receiving the ſubmiſſion of ſuch as repented. Thus he went on, till the ‡ Edui alſo revolted, who had ſtyled themſelves brothers to the Romans, and had been treated with particular regard. Their joining the inſurgents ſpread uneaſineſs and diſmay through Cæſar's army. He, therefore, decamped in all haſte, and traverſed the ‖ country of the Lingones, in order to come into § that of the Sequani, who were faſt friends, and nearer to Italy than the reſt of the Gauls.

* The people of Auvergne, particularly thoſe of Clermont and St. Flour.

† The people of Chartres and Orleans.

‡ The people of Autun, Lyons, Macon, Chalons upon Sône, and Nevers.

‖ The diſtrict of Langres.

§ The diſtrict of Beſançon.

The enemy followed him thither in prodigious numbers, and ſurrounded him. Cæſar, without being in the leaſt diſconcerted, ſuſtained the conflict, and after a long and bloody action, in which the Germans were particularly ſerviceable to him, gave them a total defeat *. But he ſeems to have received ſome check at firſt, for the Arverni ſtill ſhew a ſword ſuſpended in one of their temples, which they declare was taken from Cæſar. His friends pointed it out to him afterwards, but he only laughed; and when they were for having it taken down, he would not ſuffer it, becauſe he conſidered it as a thing conſecrated to the gods.

Moſt of thoſe who eſcaped out of the battle, retired into † Aleſia with their king. Cæſar immediately inveſted the town, though it appeared impregnable, as well on account of the height of the walls, as the number of troops there was to defend it. During this ſiege he found himſelf expoſed to a danger from without, which makes imagination giddy to think on. All the braveſt men in Gaul aſſembled from every quarter, and came armed to the relief of the place, to the number of three hundred thouſand; and there were not leſs than ſeventy thouſand combatants within the walls. Thus ſhut up between two armies, he was forced to draw two lines of circumvallation, the interior one againſt the town, and that without againſt the troops that came to its ſuccour; for, could the two armies have joined, he had been abſolutely loſt. This dangerous action at Aleſia contributed to Cæſar's renown on many accounts. Indeed, he exerted a more adventurous courage and greater generalſhip, than on any other occaſion. But what ſeems very aſtoniſhing, is, that he could engage and conquer ſo many myriads without, and keep the action a ſecret to

* This paſſage in the original is corrupt or defective. We have endeavoured to ſupply that defect, by reading, with M. Dacier, Γερμανοις, inſtead of αλλοις; which is agreeable to Cæſar's own account of the battle, in the ſeventh book of his Commentaries.

† Cæſar calls it Alexia, now Aliſe, near Flavigny.

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the troops in the town *. It is ſtill more wonderful that the Romans, who were left before the walls, ſhould not know it, till the victory was announced by the cries of the men in Aleſia and the lamentations of the women, who ſaw the Romans on each ſide of the town bringing to their camp a number of ſhields adorned with gold and ſilver, helmets ſtained with blood, drinking-veſſels, and tents of the Gauliſh faſhion. Thus did this vaſt multitude vaniſh and diſappear like a phantom, or a dream, the greateſt part being killed on the ſpot.

The beſieged, after having given both themſelves and Cæſar much trouble, at laſt ſurrendered. Their general, Vercingetorix, armed himſelf and equipped his horſe in the moſt magnificent manner, and then ſallied out at the gate. After he had taken ſome circuits about Cæſar as he ſat upon the tribunal, he diſmounted, put off his armour, and placed himſelf at Cæſar's feet, where he remained in profound ſilence, till Cæſar ordered a guard to take him away, and keep him for his triumph.

Cæſar had been ſome time reſolved to ruin Pompey, and Pompey to deſtroy Cæſar. For Craſſus, who alone could have taken up the conqueror, being killed in the Parthian war, there remained nothing for Cæſar to do, to make himſelf the greateſt of mankind, but to annihilate him that was ſo; nor for Pompey to prevent it, but to take off the man he feared. It is true, it was no long time that Pompey had entertained any fear of him; he had rather looked upon him with contempt, imagining he could as eaſily pull him down as he had ſet him up: Whereas Cæſar, from the firſt, deſigning to ruin his rivals, had retired at a diſtance, like a champion, for exerciſe. By long ſervice and great atchievements in the wars of Gaul, he had ſo improved his army, and his own reputation too, that he was con-

* Cæſar ſays, thoſe in the town had a diſtinct view of the battle.

ſidered as on a footing with Pompey; and he found pretences for carrying his enterprize into execution, in the times of the miſgovernment at Rome. Theſe were partly furniſhed by Pompey himſelf: And indeed all ranks of men were ſo corrupted, that tables were publicly ſet out, upon which the candidates for offices were profeſſedly ready to pay the people the price of their votes; and the people came not only to give their voices for the man who had bought them, but with all manner of offenſive weapons to fight for him. Hence it often happened, that they did not part without polluting the tribunal with blood and murder, and the city was a perpetual ſcene of anarchy. In this diſmal ſituation of things, in theſe ſtorms of epidemic madneſs, wiſe men thought it would be happy if they ended in nothing worſe than monarchy. Nay, there were many who ſcrupled not to declare publicly, that monarchy was the only cure for the deſperate diſorders of the ſtate, and that the phyſician ought to be pitched upon who would apply that remedy with the gentleſt hand; by which they hinted at Pompey.

Pompey, in all his diſcourſe, pretended to decline the honour of a dictatorſhip, though at the ſame time every ſtep he took was directed that way. Cato, underſtanding his drift, perſuaded the ſenate to declare him ſole conſul; that, ſatisfied with a kind of monarchy more agreeable to law, he might not adopt any violent meaſures to make himſelf dictator. The ſenate not only agreed to this, but continued to him his governments of Spain and Africa, the adminiſtration of which he committed to his lieutenants; keeping armies there, for whoſe maintenance he was allowed a thouſand talents a year out of the public treaſury.

Upon this, Cæſar applied, by his friends, for another conſulſhip, and for the continuation of his commiſſion in Gaul anſwerable to that of Pompey. As Pompey at firſt was ſilent, Marcellus and Lentulus, who hated Cæſar on other accounts, oppoſed it with great violence, omitting nothing, whether right or wrong,

wrong, that might reflect diſhonour upon him. For they diſfranchiſed the inhabitants of Novocomum in Gaul, which had lately been erected into a colony by Cæſar; and Marcellus, then conſul, cauſed one of their ſenators, who was come with ſome complaints to Rome, to be beaten with rods, and telling him, "The "marks on his back were ſo many additional proofs "that he was not a Roman citizen," bade him go and ſhew them to Cæſar.

But, after the conſulſhip of Marcellus, Cæſar opened the treaſures he had amaſſed in Gaul, to all that were concerned in the adminiſtration, and ſatisfied their utmoſt wiſhes; he paid off the vaſt debts of Curio the tribune; he preſented the conſul Paulus with fifteen hundred talents, which he employed in building the celebrated public hall near the *forum*, in the place where that of Fulvius had ſtood. Pompey, now alarmed at the increaſe of Cæſar's faction, openly exerted his own intereſt, and that of his friends, to procure an order for a ſucceſſor to Cæſar in Gaul. He alſo ſent to demand the troops he had lent him for his wars in that country, and Cæſar returned them, with a gratuity of two hundred and fifty *drachmas* to each man.

Thoſe who conducted theſe troops back, ſpread reports among the people which were neither favourable nor fair with reſpect to Cæſar, and which ruined Pompey with vain hopes. They aſſerted, that Pompey had the hearts of all Cæſar's army, and that if envy and a corrupt adminiſtration hindered him from gaining what he deſired at Rome, the forces in Gaul were at his ſervice, and would declare for him immediately upon their entering Italy; ſo obnoxious was Cæſar become, by hurrying them perpetually from one expedition to another, and by the ſuſpicions they had of his aiming at abſolute power.

Pompey was ſo much elated with theſe aſſurances, that he neglected to levy troops, as if he had nothing to fear, and oppoſed his enemy only with ſpeeches and

decrees, which Cæſar made no account of. Nay, we are told, that a centurion whom Cæſar had ſent to Rome, waiting at the door of the ſenate-houſe for the reſult of the deliberations, and being informed that the ſenate would not give Cæſar a longer term in his commiſſion, laid his hand upon his ſword, and ſaid, "But this ſhall give it."

Indeed, Cæſar's requiſitions had a great appearance of juſtice and honour. He propoſed to lay down his arms, on condition Pompey would do the ſame, and that they ſhould both, as private citizens, leave it to their country to reward their ſervices. For to deprive him of his commiſſion and troops, and continue Pompey's, was to give abſolute power to the one, to which the other was unjuſtly accuſed of aſpiring. Curio, who made theſe propoſitions to the people in behalf of Cæſar, was received with the loudeſt plaudits; and there were ſome who even threw chaplets of flowers upon him, as they would upon a champion victorious in the ring.

Antony, one of the tribunes of the people, then produced a letter from Cæſar to the ſame purport, and cauſed it to be read, notwithſtanding the oppoſition it met with from the conſuls*. Hereupon, Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, propoſed in the ſenate, that if Cæſar did not lay down his arms by ſuch a day, he ſhould be declared an enemy to the ſtate; and the conſuls putting it to the queſtion, "Whether Pompey "ſhould diſmiſs his forces," and again, "Whether "Cæſar ſhould diſband his," few of the members were for the firſt, and almoſt all for the ſecond†. After which, Antony put the queſtion, "Whether "both ſhould lay down their commiſſions," and all with one voice anſwered in the affirmative. But

* Inſtead of δια των υπατων, ſome MSS. give us βια των υπατων.

† Dio ſays, there was not a man for the firſt queſtion, whereas the whole houſe was for the ſecond, except Cælius and Curio. Nor is this to be wondered at; Pompey was then at the gates of Rome with his army.

the

the violent rage of Scipio, and the clamours of the conſul Lentulus, who cried out, that "Not decrees but "arms ſhould be employed againſt a public robber," made the ſenate break up; and on account of the unhappy diſſenſion, all ranks of people put on black, as in a time of public mourning.

Soon after this, other letters arrived from Cæſar with more moderate propoſals. He offered to abandon all the reſt, provided they would continue to him the government of Ciſalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with two legions, till he could apply for a ſecond conſulſhip. And Cicero, who was lately returned from Cilicia, and very deſirous of effecting a reconciliation, uſed all poſſible means to ſoften Pompey. Pompey agreed to all but the article of the two legions; and Cicero endeavoured to accommodate the matter, by perſuading Cæſar's friends to be ſatisfied with the two provinces and ſix thouſand ſoldiers only. Pompey was on the point of accepting the compromiſe, when Lentulus the conſul rejecting it with diſdain, treated Antony and Curio with great indignity, and drove them out of the ſenate houſe. Thus he furniſhed Cæſar with the moſt plauſible argument imaginable, and he failed not to make uſe of it to exaſperate his troops, by ſhewing them perſons of diſtinction, and magiſtrates, obliged to fly in hired carriages and in the habit of ſlaves *; for their fears had made them leave Rome in that diſguiſe.

Cæſar had not then with him above three hundred horſe and five thouſand foot. The reſt of his forces were left on the other ſide the Alps, and he had ſent them orders to join him. But he ſaw the beginning of his enterprize, and the attack that he meditated did not require any great numbers: His enemies were rather to be ſtruck with conſternation by the boldneſs and expedition with which he began his operations; for an unexpected movement would be more likely to

* Caſſius Longinus went with them in the ſame diſguiſe.

make

make an impreſſion upon them then, than great preparations afterwards. He therefore ordered his lieutenants and other officers to take their ſwords without any other armour, and make themſelves maſters of Ariminum, a great city in Gaul, but to take all poſſible care that no blood ſhould be ſhed or diſturbance raiſed. Hortenſius was at the head of this party. As for himſelf, he ſpent the day at a public ſhow of gladiators; and a little before evening bathed, and then went into the apartment where he entertained company. When it was growing dark, he left the company, after having deſired them to make merry till his return, which they would not have long to wait for. To ſome of his friends he had given previous notice to follow him, not all together, but by different ways. Then taking a hired carriage, he ſet out a different way from that which led to Ariminum, and turned into that road afterwards.

When he arrived on the banks of the Rubicon, which divides Ciſalpine Gaul from the reſt of Italy, his reflections became more intereſting in proportion as the danger drew near. Staggered by the greatneſs of his attempt, he ſtopped, to weigh with himſelf its inconveniencies; and, as he ſtood revolving in ſilence the arguments on both ſides, he many times changed his opinion. After which, he deliberated upon it with ſuch of his friends as were by, among whom was Aſinius Pollio; enumerating the calamities which the paſſage of that river would bring upon the world, and the reflections that might be made upon it by poſterity. At laſt, upon ſome ſudden impulſe, bidding adieu to his reaſonings, and plunging into the abyſs of futurity, in the words of thoſe who embark in doubtful and arduous enterprizes, he cried out, "The "die is caſt," and immediately paſſed the river. He travelled ſo faſt the reſt of the way, that he reached Ariminum before day-light, and took it. It is ſaid, that the preceding night he had a moſt abominable dream; he thought he lay with his mother.

After

After the taking of Ariminum, as if war had opened wide its gates both by ſea and land, and Cæſar, by going beyond the bounds of his province, had infringed the laws of his country; not individuals were ſeen, as on other occaſions, wandering in diſtraction about Italy, but whole cities broken up, and ſeeking refuge by flight. Moſt of the tumultuous tide flowed into Rome, and it was ſo filled with the haſty conflux of the circling people, that amidſt the violent agitation it would hardly either obey the magiſtrate, or liſten to the voice of reaſon, but was in the utmoſt danger of falling by its own violence. For the whole was a prey to contrary paſſions, and the moſt violent convulſions: Thoſe who favoured theſe diſorders were not ſatisfied with enjoying them in private, but reproached the other party, amidſt their fears and ſorrows, and inſulted them with menaces of what was to come; which is the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch troubles in a great city.

Pompey himſelf, who was already confounded at the turn things had taken, was ſtill more diſturbed by a variety of cenſures on his conduct. Some ſaid, he juſtly ſuffered for exalting Cæſar againſt himſelf and his country; others, for permitting Lentulus to over-rule him, when Cæſar departed from his firſt demands, and offered equitable terms of peace. Favonius went ſo far as to bid him "ſtamp with his foot;" alluding to a vaunting ſpeech he had made in the ſenate, in which he bade them take no thought about preparations for the war; for, as ſoon as he marched out of Rome, if he did but ſtamp with his foot, he ſhould fill Italy with his legions.

Pompey, however, at that time was not inferior in numbers to Cæſar, but his partizans would not ſuffer him to proceed according to his own opinion. By falſe reports and groundleſs terrors, as if the enemy was at the gates, and had carried all before him, they forced him along with the general torrent. He had it decreed, therefore, that things were in a tumultuous

ſtate,

ſtate, and nothing to be expected but hoſtilities, and then left Rome, having firſt ordered the ſenate, and every man to follow, who preferred his country and liberty to the rod of a tyrant. The conſuls too fled with him, without offering the ſacrifices which cuſtom required before they took their departure from Rome. Moſt of the ſenators ſnatched up thoſe things in their houſes that were next at hand, as if the whole was not their own, and joined in the flight. Nay, there were ſome who before were well affected to Cæſar, that in the preſent terror changed ſides, and ſuffered themſelves without neceſſity to be carried away by the torrent. What a miſerable ſpectacle was the city then! In ſo dreadful a tempeſt, like a ſhip abandoned by its pilots, toſt about at all adventures, and at the mercy of the winds and ſeas. But though flight was ſo unpromiſing an alternative, ſuch was the love the Romans had for Pompey, that they conſidered the place he retired to as their country, and Rome as the camp of Cæſar. For even Labienus, one of Cæſar's principal friends, who, in quality of his lieutenant, had ſerved under him with the greateſt alacrity in the wars of Gaul, now went over to Pompey. Nevertheleſs, Cæſar ſent him his money and his equipage.

After this, Cæſar inveſted Corfinium, where * Domitius with thirty cohorts commanded for Pompey. Domitius in deſpair ordered a ſervant of his, who was his phyſician, to give him poiſon. He took the draught prepared for him, as a ſure means of death; but, ſoon after, hearing of Cæſar's extraordinary clemency to his priſoners, he lamented his own caſe and the haſty reſolution he had taken. Upon which, the phyſician removed his fears, by aſſuring him that what he had drank was a ſleeping potion, not a deadly one. This gave him ſuch ſpirits, that he roſe up and

* Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus was nominated to ſucceed Cæſar, purſuant to the decree of the ſenate, in the government of Tranſalpine Gaul; but he imprudently ſhut himſelf up in Corfinium before he left Italy.

went

went to Cæſar. But though Cæſar pardoned him, and gave him his hand, he ſoon revolted, and repaired again to Pompey.

The news of this tranſaction being brought to Rome, gave great relief to the minds of the people, and many who had fled came back again. In the mean time Cæſar having added to his own army the troops of Domitius, and all others that Pompey had left in garriſon, was ſtrong enough to march againſt Pompey himſelf. The latter, however, did not wait for him; but retired to Brunduſium, from whence he ſent the conſuls with part of the forces to Dyrrhachium, and a little after, upon the approach of Cæſar, ſailed thither himſelf, as we have related at large in his life. Cæſar would have followed him immediately, but he wanted ſhips. He therefore returned to Rome, with the glory of having reduced Italy in ſixty days without ſpilling a drop of blood.

Finding the city in a more ſettled condition than he expected, and many ſenators there, he addreſſed them in a mild and gracious manner, and deſired them to ſend deputies to Pompey to offer honourable terms of peace. But not one of them would take upon him the commiſſion; whether it was that they were afraid of Pompey whom they had deſerted, or whether they thought Cæſar not in earneſt in the propoſal, and that he only made it to ſave appearances. As Metellus the tribune oppoſed his taking money out of the public treaſury, and alledged ſome laws againſt it, Cæſar ſaid, "Arms and laws do not flouriſh together. If "you are not pleaſed at what I am about, you have "nothing to do but to withdraw: Indeed, war will "not bear much liberty of ſpeech. When I ſay this, "I am departing from my own right: For you and "all whom I have found exciting a ſpirit of faction "againſt me, are at my diſpoſal." Saying this, he approached the doors of the treaſury, and as the keys were not produced, he ſent for workmen to break them open.

open. Metellus oppoſed him again, and ſome praiſed his firmneſs; but Cæſar, raiſing his voice, threatened to put him to death, if he gave him any farther trouble. "And, young man," ſaid he, "you are "not ignorant that this is harder for me to ſay than to "do." Metellus, terrified with this menace, retired, and afterwards Cæſar was eaſily and readily ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for the war.

His firſt movement was to Spain, from whence he was reſolved to drive Afranius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants, and after having made himſelf maſter of their troops and provinces, to march againſt Pompey, without leaving any enemy behind him. In the courſe of this expedition, his life was often in danger from ambuſcades, and his army had to combat with famine; yet he continued his operations againſt the enemy, either by purſuit, or offering them battle, or forming lines of circumvallation about them, till he forced their camp, and added their troops to his own. The officers made their eſcape, and retired to Pompey.

Upon his return to Rome, his father-in-law Piſo preſſed him to ſend deputies to Pompey to treat of an accommodation; but Iſauricus, to make his court to Cæſar, oppoſed it. The ſenate declared him dictator, and while he held that office, he recalled the exiles; he reſtored to their honours the children of thoſe who had ſuffered under Sylla; and relieved debtors by cancelling part of the uſury. Theſe, and a few more, were his acts during his dictatorſhip, which he laid down in eleven days. After this, he cauſed himſelf to be declared conſul with Servilius Iſauricus, and then went to proſecute the war. He marched ſo faſt to Brunduſium, that all his troops could not keep up with him. However, he embarked with only ſix hundred ſelect horſe and five legions. It was at the time of the winter ſolſtice, the beginning of January, which anſwers to the Athenian month *Poſeideon*, that he ſet ſail. He croſſed the Ionian, made himſelf maſter of Oricum and Apollonia,

nia, and ſent back * his ſhips to Brunduſium to bring over the forces that were left behind. But thoſe troops, exhauſted with fatigue, and tired out with the multitude of enemies they had to engage with, broke out into complaints againſt Cæſar, as they were upon their march to the port. "Whither will this man "lead us," ſaid they, "and where will be the end "of our labours? Will he harraſs us for ever, as "if we had limbs of ſtone, or bodies of iron? But "iron itſelf yields to repeated blows; our very ſhields "and cuiraſſes call out for reſt. Will not Cæſar learn "from our wounds that we are mortal, that we have "the ſame feelings, and are liable to the ſame im-"preſſions with other men. The gods themſelves "cannot force the ſeaſons, or clear the winter ſeas of "ſtorms and tempeſts. And it is in this ſeaſon that "he would expoſe us, as if he was flying from his "enemies, rather than purſuing them."

Amidſt ſuch diſcourſe as this, they moved on ſlowly to Brunduſium. But when they arrived there, and found that Cæſar was gone, they changed their language, and reproached themſelves as traitors to their general. They vented their anger upon their officers, too, for not haſtening the march. And ſitting upon the cliffs, they kept their eyes upon the ſea towards Epirus, to ſee if they could diſcover the tranſports that were to fetch them.

Meantime Cæſar, not having a ſufficient force at Apollonia to make head againſt the enemy, and ſeeing the troops at Brunduſium delayed to join him, to relieve himſelf from the anxiety and perplexity he was in, undertook a moſt aſtoniſhing enterprize. Though the ſea was covered with the enemy's fleets, he reſolved to embark in a veſſel of twelve oars, without acquainting any perſon with his intention, and ſail to

* He ſent them back under the conduct of Calenus. That officer loſing the opportunity of the wind, fell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ſhips, and burnt them all, together with their pilots and mariners, in order to intimidate the reſt.

Brun-

Brunduſium *. In the night, therefore, he took the habit of a ſlave, and throwing himſelf into the veſſel like a man of no account, ſate there in ſilence. They fell down the river † Anius for the ſea, where the entrance is generally eaſy, becauſe the land-wind riſing in a morning, uſed to beat off the waves of the ſea and ſmooth the mouth of the river. But unluckily that night a ſtrong ſea-wind ſprung up which overpowered that from the land; ſo that by the rage of the ſea and the counteraction of the ſtream, the river became extremely rough; the waves daſhed againſt each other with a tumultuous noiſe, and formed ſuch dangerous eddies, that the pilot deſpaired of making good his paſſage, and ordered the mariners to turn back. Cæſar perceiving this, roſe up, and ſhewing himſelf to the pilot, who was greatly aſtoniſhed at the ſight of him, ſaid, "Go forward, my friend, and "fear nothing; thou carrieſt Cæſar and his fortune." The mariners then forgot the ſtorm, and plying their oars with the utmoſt vigour and alacrity, endeavoured to overcome the reſiſtance of the waves. But ſuch was their violence at the mouth of the river, and the water flowed ſo faſt into the veſſel, that Cæſar at laſt, though with great reluctance, permitted the pilot to turn back. Upon his return to his camp, the ſoldiers met him in crowds, pouring out their complaints, and expreſſing the greateſt concern that he did not aſſure himſelf of conquering with them only, but, in diſtruſt of their ſupport, gave himſelf ſo much unea-

* Moſt hiſtorians blame this as a raſh action; and Cæſar himſelf, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of this, or of another leſs dangerous attempt, which is related by Suetonius. While he was making war in Gaul, upon advice that the Gauls had ſurrounded his army in his abſence, he dreſſed himſelf like a native of the country, and in that diſguiſe paſſed through the enemy's centinels and troops to his own camp.

† Strabo, in his ſeventh book, (Ed. Par. p. 316. BC.) calls this river *Aous*. In Polybius it is called *Lous*; but that is a corruption, the A being changed, by the fault of the tranſcriber, into an A.

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ſineſs and expoſed his perſon to ſo much danger on account of the abſent.

Soon after, Antony arrived from Brunduſium with the troops *. Cæſar, then in the higheſt ſpirits, offered battle to Pompey, who was encamped in an advantageous manner, and abundantly ſupplied with proviſions both from ſea and land; whereas Cæſar at firſt had no great plenty, and afterwards was in extreme want. The ſoldiers, however, found great relief from a † root in the adjoining fields, which they prepared in milk. Sometimes they made it into bread, and going up to the enemy's advanced guards, threw it among them, and declared, "That as long as the earth pro-"duced ſuch roots, they would certainly beſiege "Pompey."

Pompey would not ſuffer either ſuch bread to be produced, or ſuch ſpeeches to be reported in his camp; for his men were already diſcouraged, and ready to ſhudder at the thought of the impenetrable hardneſs of Cæſar's troops, who could bear as much as ſo many wild beaſts. There were frequent ſkirmiſhes about Pompey's entrenchments ‡, and Cæſar had the advantage in them all, except one, in which his party was forced to fly with ſuch precipitation, that he was in danger of having his camp taken. Pompey headed

* Antony and Calenus embarked on board the veſſels which had eſcaped Bibulus, eight hundred horſe and four legions, that is, three old ones, and one that had been newly raiſed; and when they were landed, Antony ſent back the ſhips for the reſt of the forces.

† This root was called *Clera*. Some of Cæſar's ſoldiers, who had ſerved in Sardinia, had there learnt to make bread of it.

‡ Cæſar obſerved an old camp which he had occupied in the place where Pompey was incloſed, and afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it, Pompey had taken poſſeſſion of it, and left a legion to guard it. This poſt Cæſar attempted to reduce, and it was in this attempt that he ſuffered ſo much loſs. He loſt nine hundred and ſixty foot, four hundred horſe, among whom were ſeveral Roman knights, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions. We mentioned juſt now that Pompey was incloſed, as in fact he was on the land-ſide, by a line of circumvallation drawn by Cæſar.

the attack in perſon, and not a man could ſtand before him. He drove them upon their own lines in the utmoſt confuſion, and filled their trenches with the dead.

Cæſar ran to meet them, and would have rallied the fugitives, but it was not in his power. He laid hold on the enſign-ſtaves to ſtop them, and ſome left them in his hands, and others threw them upon the ground, inſomuch that no leſs than thirty-two ſtandards were taken. Cæſar himſelf was very near loſing his life; for having laid hold of a tall and ſtrong man, to ſtop him and make him face about, the ſoldier in his terror and confuſion lifted up his ſword to ſtrike him; but Cæſar's armour-bearer prevented it by a blow which cut off his arm.

Cæſar ſaw his affairs that day in ſo bad a poſture, that after Pompey, either through too much caution, or the caprice of fortune, inſtead of giving the finiſhing ſtroke to ſo great an action, ſtopped as ſoon as he had ſhut up the enemy within their entrenchments, and ſounded a retreat, he ſaid to his friends as he withdrew, "This day victory would have declared for the enemy, "if they had had a general who knew how to con-"quer." He ſought repoſe in his tent, but it proved the moſt melancholy night of his life. For he gave himſelf up to endleſs reflections on his own miſconduct in the war. He conſidered how wrong it was, when the wide countries and rich cities of Macedonia and Theſſaly were before him, to confine himſelf to ſo narrow a ſcene of action, and ſit ſtill by the ſea, while the enemy's fleets had the ſuperiority, and in a place where he ſuffered the inconveniencies of a ſiege from the want of proviſions, rather than beſieged the enemy by his arms. Thus agitated and diſtreſſed by the perplexities and difficulties of his ſituation, he reſolved to decamp, and march againſt Scipio in Macedonia; concluding, that he ſhould either draw Pompey after him, and force him to fight where he could not receive ſupplies, as he had done, from the ſea; or elſe that he

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ſhould eaſily cruſh Scipio, if he found him unſupported.

Pompey's troops and officers were greatly elated at this retreat of Cæſar; they conſidered it as a flight and an acknowledgment that he was beaten, and therefore wanted to purſue. But Pompey himſelf was unwilling to hazard a battle of ſuch conſequence. He was well provided with every thing requiſite for waiting the advantages of time, and for that reaſon choſe, by protracting the war, to wear out the little vigour the enemy had left. The moſt valuable of Cæſar's troops had, indeed, an experience and courage which were irreſiſtible in the field; but age had made them unfit for long marches, for throwing up entrenchments, for attacking walls, and paſſing whole nights under arms. They were too unweildy to endure much fatigue, and their inclination for labour leſſened with their ſtrength. Beſides, there was ſaid to be a contagious diſtemper among them, which aroſe from their ſtrange and bad diet: And, what was ſtill a more important circumſtance, Cæſar wanted both money and proviſions, ſo that it ſeemed as if he muſt ſhortly fall of himſelf.

Theſe were Pompey's reaſons for declining a battle; but not a man, except Cato, was of his opinion; and he, only becauſe he was willing to ſpare the blood of his countrymen: For when he ſaw the bodies of the enemy, who fell in the late action, to the number of a thouſand, lie dead upon the field, he covered his face, and retired, weeping. All the reſt cenſured Pompey for not deciding the affair immediately with the ſword, calling him *Agamemnon*, and *King of Kings*, as if he was unwilling to be deprived of the monarchy he was in poſſeſſion of, and delighted to ſee ſo many generals waiting his orders, and attending to pay their court. Favonius, who affected to imitate Cato's bold manner of ſpeaking, but carried it much too far, lamented that Pompey's wanting to keep the kingly ſtate he had got, would prevent their eating figs that year at Tuſculum. And Afranius, lately come from

Spain, where he had ſucceeded ſo ill in his command, that he was accuſed of having been bribed to betray his army, aſked Pompey, "Why he did not fight "that merchant who trafficked in provinces?"

Piqued at theſe reproaches, Pompey, againſt his own judgment, marched after Cæſar, who proceeded on his route with great difficulty; for, on account of his late loſs, all looked upon him with contempt, and refuſed to ſupply him with proviſions. However, upon his taking Gomphi*, a town in Theſſaly, his troops not only found ſufficient refreſhments, but recovered ſurpriſingly of the diſtemper. For, drinking plentifully of the wine they found there, and afterwards marching on in a Bacchanalian manner, the new turn their blood took, threw off the diſorder, and gave them another habit of body.

When the two armies were encamped oppoſite each other on the plains of Pharſalia, Pompey returned to his old opinion; in which he was confirmed by ſome unlucky omens, and an alarming dream. He dreamt that the people of Rome received him in the theatre with loud plaudits, and that he adorned the chapel of Venus *Nicephora*, from whom Cæſar derived his pedigree. But if Pompey was alarmed, thoſe about him were ſo abſurdly ſanguine in their expectations of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, quarrelled about Cæſar's pontificate; and numbers ſent to Rome, to engage houſes convenient for conſuls and prætors, making themſelves ſure of being ſoon raiſed to thoſe high offices after the war. But the cavalry teſtified the greateſt impatience for a battle; ſo proud were they of their fine arms, of the condition of their horſes, and the beauty and vigour of their perſons; beſides, they were much more numerous than Cæſar's,

* Cæſar, perceiving of how much importance it was to his ſervice to make himſelf maſter of the place, before Pompey or Scipio could come up, gave a general aſſault, about three in the afternoon; and, though the walls were very high, carried it before ſun-ſet.

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being ſeven thouſand to one thouſand. Nor were the numbers of infantry equal; for Pompey had forty-five thouſand, and Cæſar only twenty-two thouſand.

Cæſar called his ſoldiers together, and told them, "That Cornificius was well advanced on his way with "two more legions, and that he had fifteen cohorts "under the command of Calenus, in the environs of "Megara and Athens." He then aſked them, "Whether they choſe to wait for thoſe troops, or to "riſque a battle without them?" They anſwered aloud, "Let us not wait; but do you find out ſome "ſtratagem to bring the enemy, as ſoon as poſſible, to "an action."

He began with offering ſacrifices of purification for his army, and upon opening the firſt victim, the ſoothſayer cried out, "You will fight within three days." Cæſar then aſked him, if there appeared in the entrails any auſpicious preſage. He anſwered, "It is you "who can beſt reſolve that queſtion. The gods an-"nounce a great change and revolution in affairs. If "you are happy at preſent, the alteration will be for "the worſe; if otherwiſe, expect better fortune." The night before the battle, as he walked the rounds about midnight, there appeared a luminous phænomenon in the air, like a torch, which, as it paſſed over his camp, flamed out with great brightneſs, and ſeemed to fall in that of Pompey. And, in the morning, when the guards were relieved, a tumult was obſerved in the enemy's camp, not unlike a panic terror. Cæſar, however, ſo little expected an action that day, that he had ordered his troops to decamp, and march to Scotuſa *.

But as they were ſtriking their tents, his ſcouts rode up, and told him, the enemy were coming down to give him battle. Happy in the news, he made his prayer to the gods, and then drew up his army, which

* Cæſar hoped, by his frequent decampings, to provide better for his troops, and perhaps gain a favourable opportunity of fighting.

he divided into three bodies. Domitius Calvinus was to command the centre, Antony the left wing, and himſelf the right, where he intended to charge at the head of the tenth legion. Struck with the number and magnificent appearance of the enemy's cavalry, who were poſted over againſt him, he ordered ſix cohorts privately to advance from the rear. Theſe he placed behind the right wing, and gave them inſtructions what to do, when the enemy's horſe came to charge *. Pompey's diſpoſition was this. He commanded the right wing himſelf, Domitius the left, and his father-in-law, Scipio, the main body. The whole weight of the cavalry was in the left wing; for they deſigned to ſurround the right of the enemy, and to make a ſucceſsful effort where Cæſar fought in perſon; thinking no body of foot could be deep enough to bear ſuch a ſhock, but that they muſt neceſſarily be broken in pieces upon the firſt impreſſion.

When the ſignal was ready to be given, Pompey ordered his infantry to ſtand in cloſe order, and wait the enemy's attack, till they were near enough to be reached by the javelin. Cæſar blamed this conduct. He ſaid, Pompey was not aware, what weight the ſwift and fierce advance to the firſt charge, gives to every blow, nor how the courage of each ſoldier is inflamed by the rapid motion of the whole †.

He was now going to put his troops in motion, when he ſaw a truſty and experienced Centurion encouraging his men to diſtinguiſh themſelves that day,

* Cæſar and Appian agree, that Pompey poſted himſelf in his left wing, not in the right. It is alſo highly probable that Afranius, not Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, commanded Pompey's right wing. Cæſar does not, indeed, expreſsly ſay who commanded there, but he ſays, "On the right was poſted the legion of Cilicia, with the cohorts brought by Afranius out of Spain, which Pompey eſteemed the flower of his army." See the notes on the life of Pompey.

† Cæſar was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that he ordered his entrenchments to be filled up, aſſuring his troops that they would be maſters of the enemy's camp before night.

Cæſar

Cæſar called him by his name, and ſaid, "What "cheer, Caius * Craſſinius? How, think you, do we "ſtand?" "Cæſar," ſaid the veteran, in a bold accent, and ſtretching out his hand, "the victory is ours. "It will be a glorious one; and this day I ſhall have "your praiſe, either alive or dead." So ſaying he ran in upon the enemy, at the head of his company, which conſiſted of an hundred and twenty men. He did great execution among the firſt ranks, and was preſſing on with equal fierceneſs, when one of his antagoniſts puſhed his ſword with ſuch force in at his mouth, that the point came out at the nape of his neck.

While the infantry were thus warmly engaged in the centre, the cavalry advanced from Pompey's left wing with great confidence, and extended their ſquadrons, to ſurround Cæſar's right wing. But before they could † begin the attack, the ſix cohorts which Cæſar had placed behind, came up boldly, to receive them. They did not, according to cuſtom, attempt to annoy the enemy with their javelins at a diſtance, nor ſtrike at the legs and thighs when they came nearer, but aimed at their eyes, and wounded them in the face, agreeably to the orders they had received. For Cæſar hoped that theſe young cavaliers who had not been uſed to wars and wounds, and who ſet a great value upon their beauty, would avoid, above all things, a ſtroke in that part, and immediately give way, as well on account of the preſent danger, as the future deformity. The event anſwered his expectation. They could not bear the ſpears pointed againſt their faces, or the ſteel gleaming upon their eyes, but turned away their faces, and covered them with their hands. This cauſed ſuch confuſion, that at laſt they fled in the moſt infamous manner, and ruined the whole cauſe. For the cohorts which had beaten them off, ſurrounded their infantry,

* Plutarch, in the Life of Pompey, calls him *Craſſianus*. Cæſar calls him *Craſtinus*.

† Cæſar ſays, they did engage his right wing, and obliged his cavalry to give ground. *Bell. Civil.* lib. iii.

and charging them in the rear, as well as in front, ſoon cut them to pieces.

Pompey, when from the other wing he ſaw his cavalry put to the rout, was no longer himſelf, nor did he remember that he was Pompey the Great; but like a man deprived of his ſenſes by ſome ſuperior power, or ſtruck with conſternation at his defeat as the conſequence of the divine decree, he retired to his camp without ſpeaking a word, and ſate down in his tent to wait the iſſue. At laſt, after his whole army was broken and diſperſed, and the enemy had got upon his ramparts, and were engaged with the troops appointed to defend them, he ſeemed to come to himſelf, and cried out, "What! into my camp, too?" Without uttering one word more, he laid aſide the enſigns of his dignity as general, and taking a habit that might favour his flight, he made his eſcape privately. What misfortunes befel him afterwards, how he put himſelf in the hands of the Egyptians, and was aſſaſſinated by the traitors, we ſhall relate at large in his life.

When Cæſar entered the camp, and ſaw what numbers of the enemy lay dead, and thoſe they were then diſpatching, he ſaid, with a ſigh, "This they would "have; to this cruel neceſſity they reduced me: For "had Cæſar diſmiſſed his troops, after ſo many great "and ſucceſsful wars, he would have been condemned "as a criminal." Aſinius Pollio tells us, Cæſar ſpoke thoſe words in Latin, and that he afterwards expreſſed the ſenſe of them in Greek. He adds, that moſt of thoſe who were killed at the taking of the camp, were ſlaves, and that there fell not in the battle above ſix thouſand ſoldiers*. Cæſar incorporated with his own legions moſt of the infantry that were taken priſoners; and pardoned many perſons of diſtinction. Brutus, who afterwards killed him, was

* Cæſar ſays, there fell about fifteen thouſand of the enemy, and that he took above twenty-four thouſand priſoners; and that on his ſide, the loſs amounted only to about two hundred private ſoldiers, and thirty centurions.

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of the number. It is ſaid, that when he did not make his appearance after the battle, Cæſar was very uneaſy, and that upon his preſenting himſelf unhurt, he expreſſed great joy.

Among the many ſigns that announced this victory, that at Tralles was the moſt remarkable. There was a ſtatue of Cæſar in the temple of victory; and though the ground about it was naturally hard, and paved with hard ſtone beſides, it is ſaid that a palm tree ſprung up at the pedeſtal of the ſtatue. At Padua, Caius Cornelius, a countryman and acquaintance of Livy, and a celebrated diviner, was obſerving the flight of birds the day the battle of Pharſalia was fought. By this obſervation, according to Livy's account, he firſt diſcerned the time of action, and ſaid to thoſe that were by, "The great affair now draws to a deciſion; the two generals are engaged." Then he made another obſervation, and the ſigns appeared ſo clear to him, that he leaped up in the moſt enthuſiaſtic manner, and cried out, "Cæſar, thou art the conqueror." As the company ſtood in great aſtoniſhment, he took the ſacred fillet from his head, and ſwore "he would "never put it on again, till the event had put his art "beyond queſtion." Livy affirms this for a truth.

Cæſar granted the whole nation of Theſſaly their liberty, for the ſake of the victory he had gained there, and then went in purſuit of Pompey. He beſtowed the ſame privilege upon the Cnidians, in compliment to Theopompus, to whom we are indebted for a collection of fables; and he diſcharged the inhabitants of Aſia from a third part of their impoſts.

Upon his arrival at Alexandria, he found Pompey aſſaſſinated, and when Theodotus preſented the head to him, he turned from the ſight with great abhorrence. The ſignet of that general was the only thing he took, and on taking it, he wept. As often as any of Pompey's friends and companions were taken by Ptolemy, wandering about the country, and brought to Cæſar, he loaded them with favours, and took them into his own

own ſervice. He wrote to his friends at Rome, "That the chief enjoyment he had of his victory, was, "in ſaving every day one or other of his fellow-citi-"zens, who had borne arms againſt him."

As for his Egyptian war, ſome aſſert that it was undertaken without neceſſity, and that his paſſion for Cleopatra engaged him in a quarrel, which proved both prejudicial to his reputation, and dangerous to his perſon. Others accuſe the king's miniſters, particularly the eunuch Photinus, who had the greateſt influence at court, and who having taken off Pompey, and removed Cleopatra, privately meditated an attempt againſt Cæſar. Hence it is ſaid, that Cæſar began to paſs the night in entertainments among his friends, for the greater ſecurity of his perſon. The behaviour, indeed, of this eunuch in public, all he ſaid and did with reſpect to Cæſar, was intolerably inſolent and invidious. The corn he ſupplied his ſoldiers with, was old and muſty, and he told them, "they ought "to be ſatisfied with it, ſince they lived at other peo-"ple's coſt." He cauſed only wooden and earthen veſſels to be ſerved up at the king's table, on pretence that Cæſar had taken all the gold and ſilver ones for debt. For the father of the reigning Prince owed Cæſar ſeventeen million five hundred thouſand *drachmas*. Cæſar had formerly remitted to his children the reſt, but thought fit to demand the ten millions at this time, for the maintenance of his army. Photinus, inſtead of paying the money, adviſed him to go and finiſh the great affairs he had upon his hands, after which he ſhould have his money with thanks. But Cæſar told him, "He had no need of Egyptian coun-"ſellors," and privately ſent for Cleopatra out of the country.

This princeſs, taking only one friend, Apollodorus the Sicilian, with her, got into a ſmall boat, and in the duſk of the evening made for the palace. As ſhe ſaw it difficult to enter it undiſcovered, ſhe rolled herſelf up in a carpet; Apollodorus tied her up at full length,

length, like a bale of goods, and carried her in at the gates to Cæſar. This ſtratagem of her's, which was a ſtrong proof of her wit and ingenuity, is ſaid to have firſt opened her the way to Cæſar's heart; and the conqueſt advanced ſo faſt, by the charms of her converſation, that he took upon him to reconcile her brother to her, and inſiſted that ſhe ſhould reign with him.

An entertainment was given on account of this reconciliation, and all met to rejoice on the occaſion; when a ſervant of Cæſar's, who was his barber, a timorous and ſuſpicious man, led by his natural caution to enquire into every thing, and to liſten every where about the palace, found that Achillas the general, and Photinus the eunuch, were plotting againſt Cæſar's life. Cæſar being informed of their deſign, planted his guards about the hall, and killed Photinus. But Achillas eſcaped to the army, and involved Cæſar in a very difficult and dangerous war; for with a few troops, he had to make head againſt a great city, and a powerful army.

* The firſt difficulty he met with, was, the want of water, the Egyptians having ſtopped up the aqueducts † that ſupplied his quarter. The ſecond was, the loſs of his ſhips in harbour, which he was forced to burn himſelf, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands; when the flames unfortunately ſpreading from the dock to the palace, burnt the great Alexandrian library. The third ‡ was in the ſea-fight near the iſle of Pharos, when, ſeeing his men hard preſſed, he leaped

* He was in greater danger before, when attacked in the palace by Achillas, who had made himſelf maſter of Alexandria. Cæs. *Bell. Civil.* Lib. iii. ſub finem.

† They alſo contrived to raiſe the ſea-water by engines, and pour it into Cæſar's reſervoirs and ciſterns; but Cæſar ordered wells to be dug, and, in a night's time, got a ſufficient quantity of freſh water. Vide Cæs. Bell. Alex.

‡ Firſt there was a general naval engagement; after which Cæſar attacked the iſland, and, laſt of all, the mole. It was in this laſt attack he was under the difficulty mentioned by Plutarch.

from

from the mole into a little ſkiff, to go to their aſſiſtance. The Egyptians making up on all ſides, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and with much difficulty reached * his gallies by ſwimming. Having ſeveral valuable papers, which he was not willing either to loſe or to wet, it is ſaid he held them above water with one hand, and ſwam with the other. The ſkiff ſunk ſoon after he left it. At laſt the king joining the inſurgents, Cæſar attacked and defeated him. Great numbers of the Egyptians were ſlain, and the king was heard of no more. This gave Cæſar opportunity to eſtabliſh Cleopatra Queen of Egypt. Soon after, ſhe had a ſon by him, whom the Alexandrians called Cæſario.

He then departed for Syria, and from thence marched into Aſia Minor, where he had intelligence that Domitius, whom he had left governor, was defeated by Pharnaces, ſon of Mithridates, and forced to fly out of Pontus with the few troops he had left; and that Pharnaces, purſuing his advantage with great ardour, had made himſelf maſter of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and was attempting Armenia the Leſs, having ſtirred up all the kings and tetrarchs of Aſia againſt the Romans. Cæſar immediately marched againſt him with three legions, and defeated him in a great battle near Zela, which deprived him of the kingdom of Pontus, as well as ruined his whole army. In the account he gave Amintius, one of his friends in Rome, of the rapidity and diſpatch with which he gained this victory, he made uſe only of three words†, "I came, I ſaw, I conquered." Their having all the ſame form and termination in the Roman language, adds grace to their conciſeneſs.

* His firſt intention was to gain the Admiral Galley; but finding it very hard preſt, he made for the others. And it was fortunate for him that he did, for his own galley ſoon went to the bottom.

† *Veni, vidi, vici.*

After

After this extraordinary ſucceſs, he returned to Italy, and arrived at Rome, as the year of his ſecond dictatorſhip, an office that had never been annual before, was on the point of expiring. He was declared conſul for the year enſuing. But it was a blot in his character that he did not puniſh his troops, who, in a tumult, had killed Coſconius and Galba, men of Prætorian dignity, in any ſeverer manner, than by calling them citizens*, inſtead of fellow-ſoldiers. Nay, he gave each of them a thouſand *drachmas* notwithſtanding, and aſſigned them large portions of land in Italy. Other complaints againſt him aroſe from the madneſs of Dolabella, the avarice of Amintius, the drunkenneſs of Antony, and the inſolence of Cornificius†, who, having got poſſeſſion of Pompey's houſe, pulled it down, and rebuilt it, becauſe he thought it not large enough for him. Theſe things were very diſagreeable to the Romans. Cæſar knew it, and diſapproved ſuch behaviour, but was obliged, through political views, to make uſe of ſuch miniſters.

Cato and Scipio, after the battle of Pharſalia, had eſcaped into Africa, where they raiſed a reſpectable army with the aſſiſtance of king Juba. Cæſar now reſolved to carry war into their quarters, and in order to it, firſt croſſed over to Sicily, though it was about the time of the winter ſolſtice. To prevent his officers from entertaining any hopes of having the expedition delayed, he pitched his own tent almoſt within the waſh of the ſea; and a favourable wind ſpringing up, he re-embarked with three thouſand foot and a ſmall

* But by this appellation they were caſhiered. It was the tenth legion which had mutinied at Capua, and afterwards marched with great inſolence to Rome. Cæſar readily gave them the diſcharge they demanded, which ſo humbled them, that they begged to be taken again into his ſervice; and he did not admit of it without much ſeeming reluctance, nor till after much intreaty.

† It was Antony, not Cornificius, who got the forfeiture of Pompey's houſe; as appears from the life of Antony, and Cicero's ſecond Philippic. Therefore, there is, probably, a tranſpoſition in this place, owing to the careleſſneſs of ſome tranſcriber.

body

body of horſe *. After he had landed them ſafely and privately on the African coaſt, he ſet ſail again in queſt of the remaining part of his troops, whoſe numbers were more conſiderable, and for whom he was under great concern. He found them, however, on their way at ſea, and conducted them all to his African camp.

He was there informed, that the enemy had great dependence on an ancient oracle, the purport of which was, "That the race of Scipio would be always victorious in Africa." And, as he happened to have in his army one of the family of Africanus, named Scipio Sallution, though in other reſpects a contemptible fellow, either in ridicule of Scipio, the enemy's general, or to turn the oracle on his ſide, in all engagements he gave this Sallution the command, as if he had been really general. There were frequent occaſions of this kind; for he was often forced to fight for proviſions, having neither a ſufficiency of bread for his men, nor of forage for his horſes. He was obliged to give his horſes the very ſea-weed, only waſhing out the ſalt, and mixing a little graſs with it to make it go down. The thing that laid him under a neceſſity of having recourſe to this expedient, was the number of Numidian cavalry, who were extremely well mounted, and by ſwift and ſudden impreſſions commanded the whole coaſt.

One day when Cæſar's cavalry had nothing elſe to do, they diverted themſelves with an African who danced, and played upon the flute with great perfection. They had left their horſes to the care of boys, and ſate attending to the entertainment with great delight, when the enemy coming upon them at once, killed part, and entered the camp with others, who fled with great precipitation. Had not Cæſar himſelf, and Aſinius Pollio come to their aſſiſtance, and ſtopt their

* He embarked ſix legions, and two thouſand horſe; but the number mentioned by Plutarch was all that he landed with at firſt; many of the ſhips having been ſeparated by a ſtorm.

flight,

flight, the war would have been at an end that hour. In another engagement the enemy had the advantage again; on which occaſion it was that Cæſar took an enſign, who was running away, by the neck, and making him face about, ſaid, "Look on this ſide for "the enemy."

Scipio, fluſhed with theſe ſucceſsful preludes, was deſirous to come to a deciſive action. Therefore, leaving Afranius and Juba in their reſpective camps, which were at no great diſtance, he went in perſon to the camp above the lake, in the neighbourhood of Thapſus, to raiſe a fortification for a place of arms and an occaſional retreat. While Scipio was conſtructing his walls and ramparts, Cæſar, with incredible diſpatch, made his way through a country almoſt impracticable by reaſon of its woods and difficult paſſes, and coming ſuddenly upon him attacked one part of his army in the rear, another in the front, and put the whole to flight. Then making the beſt uſe of his opportunity and of the favour of fortune, with one tide of ſucceſs he took the camp of Afranius, and deſtroyed that of the Numidians; Juba, their king, being glad to ſave himſelf by flight. Thus in a ſmall part of one day he made himſelf maſter of three camps, and killed fifty thouſand of the enemy, with the loſs only of fifty men.

Such is the account ſome give us of the action: Others ſay, that as Cæſar was drawing up his army, and giving his orders, he had an attack of his old diſtemper; and that upon its approach, before it had overpowered and deprived him of his ſenſes, as he felt the firſt agitations, he directed his people to carry him to a neighbouring tower, where he lay in quiet till the fit was over.

Many perſons of conſular and prætorian dignity eſcaped out of the battle. Some of them, being afterwards taken, diſpatched themſelves, and a number were put to death by Cæſar. Having a ſtrong deſire

to

to take Cato alive, the conqueror haſtened to Utica *, which Cato had the charge of, and for that reaſon was not in the battle. But by the way he was informed that he had killed himſelf, and his uneaſineſs at the news was very viſible. As his officers were wondering what might be the cauſe of that uneaſineſs, he cried out, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, ſince thou enviedſt "me the glory of giving thee thy life." Nevertheleſs, by the book which he wrote againſt Cato after his death, it does not ſeem as if he had any intentions of favour to him before. For how can it be thought he would have ſpared the living enemy, when he poured ſo much venom afterwards upon his grave? Yet, from his clemency to Cicero, to Brutus, and others without number, who had borne arms againſt him, it is conjectured, that the book was not written out of a ſpirit of rancour, but of political ambition; for it was compoſed on ſuch an occaſion. Cicero had written an encomium upon Cato, and he gave the name of *Cato* to the book. It was highly eſteemed by many of the Romans, as might be expected, as well from the ſuperior eloquence of the author, as the dignity of the ſubject. Cæſar was piqued at the ſucceſs of a work, which, in praiſing a man who had killed himſelf to avoid falling into his hands, he thought inſinuated ſomething to the diſadvantage of his character. He therefore wrote an anſwer to it, which he called *Anticato*, and which contained a variety of charges againſt that great man. Both books have ſtill their friends, as a regard to the memory of Cæſar or of Cato predominates.

Cæſar, after his return from Africa to Rome, ſpoke in high terms of his victory to the people. He told

* Before Cæſar left Utica, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did, ſoon after his return to Italy, for the rebuilding of Corinth; ſo that theſe two cities were deſtroyed in the ſame year, and in the ſame year raiſed out of their ruins, in which they had laid about a hundred years. Two years after, they were both repeopled with Roman colonies.

them,

them, he had ſubdued a country ſo extenſive, that it would bring yearly into the public ſtores two hundred thouſand Attic * meaſures of wheat, and three million of pounds of oil. After this, he led up his ſeveral triumphs, over Egypt, Pontus, and Africa †. In the title of the latter, mention was not made of Scipio, but of Juba only. Juba, the ſon of that prince, then very young, walked in the proceſſion. It proved a happy captivity for him; for of a barbarous and unlettered Numidian, he became an hiſtorian worthy to be numbered among the moſt learned of Greece. The triumph was followed by large donations to the ſoldiers, and feaſts and public diverſions for the people. He entertained them at twenty-two thouſand tables, and preſented them with a numerous ſhow of gladiators and naval fights, in honour of his daughter Julia, who had been long dead.

When thoſe exhibitions were over ‡, an account was taken of the citizens, who, from three hundred and

* *Medimni.* See the table of weights and meaſures.

† Plutarch either forgot to make mention of the triumph over Gaul, which was the moſt conſiderable, or elſe τον Κελτικον has dropt out of the text.

‡ Ruauld takes notice of three great miſtakes in this paſſage. The firſt is, where it is ſaid that Cæſar took a *cenſus* of the people. Suetonius does not mention it, and Auguſtus himſelf, in the Marmora Ancyrana, ſays, that in his ſixth Conſulate, that is, in the year of Rome 725, he numbered the people, which had not been done for forty-two years before. The ſecond is, that, before the civil wars broke out between Cæſar and Pompey, the number of the people in Rome amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thouſand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increaſe. The laſt is, where it is aſſerted, that, in leſs than three years, thoſe three hundred and twenty thouſand were reduced, by that war, to a hundred and fifty thouſand; the falſity of which aſſertion is evident from this, that a little while after, Cæſar made a draught of eighty thouſand, to be ſent to foreign colonies. But, what is ſtill ſtronger, eighteen years after, Auguſtus took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and ſixty-three thouſand, as Suetonius aſſures us. From a paſſage in the ſame Author (Life of Cæſar, chap. iv.) theſe miſtakes of Plutarch took their riſe. Suetonius there ſays, *Recenſum populi nec more nec loco ſolito, ſed vicatim*

twenty thouſand, were reduced to a hundred and fifty thouſand. So fatal a calamity was the civil war, and ſuch a number of the people did it take off, to ſay nothing of the misfortunes it brought upon the reſt of Italy, and all the provinces of the empire.

This buſineſs done, he was elected conſul the fourth time; and the firſt thing he undertook, was to march into Spain againſt the ſons of Pompey, who, though young, had aſſembled a numerous army, and ſhewed a courage worthy the command they had undertaken. The great battle which put a period to that war, was fought under the walls of Munda. Cæſar at firſt ſaw his men ſo hard preſt, and making ſo feeble a reſiſtance, that he ran through the ranks, amidſt the ſwords and ſpears, crying, "Are you not aſhamed to deliver "your general into the hands of boys?" The great and vigorous efforts this reproach produced, at laſt made the enemy turn their backs, and there were more than thirty thouſand of them ſlain, whereas Cæſar loſt only a thouſand, but thoſe were ſome of the beſt men he had. As he retired after the battle, he told his friends, "He had often fought for victory, but that "was the firſt time he had fought for his life."

He won this battle on the day of the *Liberalia**, which was the ſame day that Pompey the Great marched out, four years before. The younger of Pompey's ſons made his eſcape; the other was taken by Didius, a few days after, who brought his head to Cæſar.

vicatim per dominos inſularum egit: atque ex viginti trecentiſque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico, ad centum quinquaginta retraxit. Suetonius ſpeaks there of the citizens, who ſhared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thouſand, and, probably, becauſe he perceived that diſtribution anſwered in many only the purpoſes of idleneſs, he reduced the number to a hundred and twenty thouſand. Plutarch miſtook *recenſum* for *cenſum*; and this error led him into the other miſtakes.

* The ſeventeenth of March.

This

This was the laſt of his wars; and his triumph on account of it gave the Romans more pain than any other ſtep he had taken. He did not now mount the car for having conquered foreign generals, or Barbarian kings, but for ruining the children, and deſtroying the race of one of the greateſt men Rome had ever produced, though he proved at laſt unfortunate. All the world condemned his triumphing in the calamities of his country, and rejoicing in things which nothing could excuſe, either before the gods or men, but extreme neceſſity. And it was the more obvious to condemn it, becauſe, before this, he had never ſent any meſſenger or letter to acquaint the public with any victory he had gained in the civil wars, but was rather aſhamed of ſuch advantages. The Romans, however, bowing to his power, and ſubmitting to the bridle, becauſe they ſaw no other reſpite from inteſtine wars and miſeries, but the taking one man for their maſter, created him Dictator for life. This was a complete tyranny; for to abſolute power they added perpetuity.

Cicero was the firſt who propoſed that the ſenate ſhould confer great honours upon Cæſar, but honours within the meaſure of humanity. Thoſe who followed, contended with each other which ſhould make him the moſt extraordinary compliments, and by the abſurdity and extravagance of their decrees, rendered him odious and inſupportable even to perſons of candour. His enemies are ſuppoſed to have vied with his flatterers in theſe ſacrifices, that they might have the better pretence, and the more cauſe, to lift up their hands againſt him. This is probable enough, becauſe in other reſpects, after the civil wars were brought to an end, his conduct was irreproachable. It ſeems as if there was nothing unreaſonable in their ordering a temple to be built to CLEMENCY, in gratitude for the mercy they had experienced in Cæſar. For he not only pardoned moſt of thoſe who had appeared againſt him in the field, but on ſome of them he beſtowed honours and preferments; on Brutus and Caſſius for

inſtance; for they were both prætors. The ſtatues of Pompey had been thrown down, but he did not ſuffer them to lie in that poſture; he erected them again. On which occaſion Cicero ſaid, "That Cæſar, by "rearing Pompey's ſtatues, had eſtabliſhed his own."

His friends preſſed him to have a guard, and many offered to ſerve in that capacity, but he would not ſuffer it. For, he ſaid, "It was better to die once "than to live always in fear of death." He eſteemed the affection of the people the moſt honourable and the ſafeſt guard, and therefore endeavoured to gain them by feaſts and diſtributions of corn, as he did the ſoldiers, by placing them in agreeable colonies. The moſt noted places that he colonized, were Carthage and Corinth; of which it is remarkable, that as they were both taken and demoliſhed at the ſame time, ſo they were at the ſame time reſtored.

The nobility he gained by promiſing them conſulates and prætorſhips, or, if thoſe were engaged, by giving them other places of honour and profit. To all he opened the proſpects of hope; for he was deſirous to reign over a willing people. For this reaſon he was ſo ſtudious to oblige, that when Fabius Maximus died ſuddenly towards the cloſe of his conſulſhip, he appointed Caninius * Rebilius conſul for the day that remained. Numbers went to pay their reſpects to him, according to cuſtom, and to conduct him to the ſenate-houſe; on which occaſion Cicero ſaid, "Let us make haſte and pay our compliment to the "conſul, before his office is expired."

Cæſar had ſuch talents for great attempts, and ſo vaſt an ambition, that the many actions he had performed, by no means induced him to ſit down and enjoy the glory he had acquired; they rather whetted his appetite for other conqueſts, produced new deſigns equally great, together with equal confidence of ſucceſs, and inſpired him with a paſſion for freſh renown,

* Macrobius calls him *Rebilus*.

as

as if he had exhauſted all the pleaſures of the old. This paſſion was nothing but a jealouſy of himſelf, a conteſt with himſelf (as eager as if it had been with another man) to make his future atchievements outſhine the paſt. In this ſpirit he had formed a deſign, and was making preparations for war againſt the Parthians. After he had ſubdued them, he intended to traverſe Hyrcania, and marching along by the Caſpian ſea and Mount Caucaſus, to enter Scythia; to carry his conquering arms through the countries adjoining to Germany, and through Germany itſelf; and then to return by Gaul to Rome; thus finiſhing the circle of the Roman empire, as well as extending its bounds to the ocean on every ſide.

During the preparations for this expedition, he attempted to dig through the Iſthmus of Corinth, and committed the care of that work to Anienus *. He deſigned alſo to convey the Tiber by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circæi, and ſo into the ſea near Tarracina, for the convenience as well as ſecurity of merchants who traded to Rome. Another public ſpirited work that he meditated, was to drain all the

* Ανηνον επι τουτο προχειρισαμενος. The Latin and French tranſlators join this with the ſentence that follows, and render it, "He "deſigned alſo to unite the Anio and the Tiber, and convey "them by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circæi, &c." But againſt that conſtruction there is this ſtrong objection, that the Anio falls into the Tiber above Rome. In Greek, too, that River would be Ανιν, not Ανηνος. And if we admitted of that conſtruction, what could be made of Ανηνον επι τουτο προχειρισαμενος, which would literally be, *having previouſly fitted the Anio to that purpoſe.*

On the other hand, it may be alledged, that poſſibly Plutarch might not know where the conflux of the Anio and the Tiber was, though, with reſpect to a man who had lived ſome time at Rome, it is ſcarce an admiſſible ſuppoſition. And we muſt acknowledge, that we have not any where elſe met with *Anienus* as a Roman name.

Suetonius takes no notice of Cæſar's intention to make this cut.

marſhes by * Nomentum and Setia, by which ground enough would be gained from the water to employ many thouſands of hands in tillage. He propoſed farther to raiſe banks on the ſhore neareſt Rome, to prevent the ſea from breaking in upon the land; to clear the Oſtian ſhore of its ſecret and dangerous obſtructions, and to build harbours fit to receive the many veſſels that came in there. Theſe things were deſigned, but did not take effect.

He completed, however, the regulation of the calendar, and corrected the erroneous † computation of time, agreeably to a plan which he had ingeniouſly contrived, and which proved of the greateſt utility. For it was not only in ancient times that the Roman months ſo ill agreed with the revolution of the year, that the feſtivals and days of ſacrifice by little and little fell back into ſeaſons quite oppoſite to thoſe of their inſtitution; but even in the time of Cæſar, when the ſolar year was made uſe of, the generality lived in perfect ignorance of the matter; and the prieſts, who were the only perſons that knew any thing about it, uſed to add all at once, and when nobody expected it, an intercalary month, called *Mercedonius*, of which Numa was the inventor. That remedy, however, proved much too weak, and was far from operating extenſively enough, to correct the great miſcomputations of time; as we have obſerved in that Prince's life.

Cæſar having propoſed the queſtion to the moſt able philoſophers and mathematicians, publiſhed, upon principles already verified, a new and more exact regulation, which the Romans ſtill go by, and by that means are

* It appears, from a paſſage in Suetonius, Vit. Cæſ. c. 44. *Siccare Pomptinas paludes*, as well as from another in Strabo, Ed. Par. l. v. p. 231. C D. that for *nomentum* we ſhould here read *pomentium*.

† Through means of that erroneous computation, the Roman calendar had gained near three months in the time of Cæſar. Before this, endeavours had been uſed to correct the irregularity, but it never could be done with exactneſs. See the Life of Numa.

nearer

nearer the truth than other nations with reſpect to the difference between the ſun's revolution and that of the twelve months. Yet this uſeful invention furniſhed matter of ridicule to the envious, and to thoſe who could but ill brook his power. For Cicero (if I miſtake not) when ſome one happened to ſay, "*Lyra* will riſe "to morrow," anſwered, "Undoubtedly; there is an "edict for it:" As if the calendar was forced upon them, as well as other things.

But the principal thing that excited the public hatred, and at laſt cauſed his death, was his paſſion for the title of king. It was the firſt thing that gave offence to the multitude, and it afforded his inveterate enemies a very plauſible plea. Thoſe who wanted to procure him that honour, gave it out among the people, that it appeared from the Sibylline books, "The Romans could never conquer the Parthians, ex-"cept they went to war under the conduct of a king." And one day, when Cæſar returned from Alba to Rome, ſome of his retainers ventured to ſalute him by that title. Obſerving that the people were troubled at this ſtrange compliment, he put on an air of reſentment, and ſaid, "He was not called king, but Cæſar." Upon this, a deep ſilence enſued, and he paſſed on in no good humour.

Another time the ſenate having decreed him ſome extravagant honours, the conſuls and prætors, attended by the whole body of patricians, went to inform him of what they had done. When they came, he did not riſe to receive them, but kept his ſeat, as if they had been perſons in a private ſtation, and his anſwer to their addreſs, was, "That there was more "need to retrench his honours, than to enlarge them." This haughtineſs gave pain not only to the ſenate, but the people, who thought the contempt of that body reflected diſhonour upon the whole commonwealth; for all who could decently withdraw, went off greatly dejected.

Perceiving the falſe ſtep he had taken, he retired immediately to his own houſe; and laying his neck bare, told his friends, "He was ready for the firſt hand "that would ſtrike." He then bethought himſelf of alleging his diſtemper as an excuſe; and aſſerted that thoſe who are under its influence, are apt to find their faculties fail them, when they ſpeak ſtanding; a trembling and giddineſs coming upon them, which bereaves them of their ſenſes. This, however, was not really the caſe; for it is ſaid, he was deſirous to riſe to the ſenate; but Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, held him, and had ſervility enough to ſay, "Will you not remember that you are Cæſar, "and ſuffer them to pay their court to you as their "ſuperior?"

Theſe diſcontents were greatly increaſed by the indignity with which he treated the tribunes of the people. In the *Lupercalia*, which, according to moſt writers, is an ancient paſtoral feaſt, and which anſwers in many reſpects to the *Lycæa* amongſt the Arcadians, young men of noble families, and indeed many of the magiſtrates, run about the ſtreets naked, and, by way of diverſion, ſtrike all they meet with leathern thongs with the hair upon them. Numbers of women of the firſt quality put themſelves in their way, and preſent their hands for ſtripes, (as ſcholars do to a maſter) being perſuaded that the pregnant gain an eaſy delivery by it, and that the barren are enabled to conceive. Cæſar wore a triumphal robe that day, and ſeated himſelf in a golden chair upon the *roſtra*, to ſee the ceremony.

Antony ran among the reſt, in compliance with the rules of the feſtival, for he was conſul. When he came into the *forum*, and the crowd had made way for him, he approached Cæſar, and offered him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this, ſome plaudits were heard, but very feeble, becauſe they proceeded only from perſons placed there on purpoſe. Cæſar refuſed it, and then the plaudits were loud and general. Antony

tony preſented it once more, and few applauded his officiouſneſs; but when Cæſar rejected it again, the applauſe again was general. Cæſar, undeceived by this ſecond trial, roſe up, and ordered the diadem to be conſecrated in the capitol.

A few days after, his ſtatues were ſeen adorned with royal diadems; and Flavius and Marullus, two of the tribunes, went and tore them off. They alſo found out the perſons who firſt ſaluted Cæſar king, and committed them to priſon. The people followed with chearful acclamations, and called them *Brutuſes*, becauſe Brutus was the man who expelled the kings, and put the government in the hands of the ſenate and people. Cæſar, highly incenſed at their behaviour, depoſed the tribunes; and by way of reprimand to them, as well as inſult to the people, called them ſeveral times *Brutes* and *Cumæans* *.

Upon this, many applied to Marcus Brutus, who, by the father's ſide, was ſuppoſed to be a deſcendant of that ancient Brutus, and whoſe mother was of the illuſtrious houſe of the Servilii. He was alſo nephew and ſon-in-law to Cato. No man was more inclined than he to lift his hand againſt monarchy, but he was with-held by the honours and favours he had received from Cæſar, who had not only given him his life after the defeat of Pompey at Pharſalia, and pardoned many of his friends at his requeſt, but continued to honour him with his confidence. That very year he had

* One thing which Strabo mentions as an inſtance of the ſtupidity of the Cumæans, namely, their not laying any duty upon merchandize imported into their harbour, ſeems to be a very equivocal proof of it: for their leaving the port free, might bring them trade, and make them a flouriſhing people. Another thing which he mentions (though it is ſcarce worth repeating) is, that they had mortgaged their porticos, and, upon failure of payment of the money, were prohibited by their creditors from walking under them; but at laſt, when ſome heavy rains came on, public notice was given by the creditors, that their debtors would be indulged that favour. Hence, he tells us, that ſaying, "The Cumæans have not ſenſe to get under ſhelter when it "rains, till they are put in mind of it by the cryer."

procured

procured him the moſt honourable prætorſhip, and he had named him for the conſulſhip four years after, in preference to Caſſius, who was his competitor. On which occaſion Cæſar is reported to have ſaid, "Caſ-"ſius aſſigns the ſtronger reaſons, but I cannot refuſe "Brutus."

Some impeached Brutus, after the conſpiracy was formed; but, inſtead of liſtening to them, he laid his hand on his body, and ſaid, "Brutus will wait for this "ſkin;" intimating, that, though the virtue of Brutus rendered him worthy of empire, he would not be guilty of any ingratitude or baſeneſs to obtain it. Thoſe, however, who were deſirous of a change, kept their eyes upon him only, or principally at leaſt; and as they durſt not ſpeak out plain, they put billets night after night in the tribunal and ſeat which he uſed as prætor, moſtly in theſe terms, "Thou ſleepeſt, "Brutus," or, "Thou art not Brutus."

Caſſius perceiving his friend's ambition a little ſtimulated by theſe papers, began to ply him cloſer than before, and ſpur him on to the great enterprize; for he had a particular enmity againſt Cæſar, for the reaſons which we have mentioned in the life of Brutus. Cæſar, too, had ſome ſuſpicion of him, and he even ſaid one day to his friends, "What think you of Caſſius? I "do not like his pale looks." Another time, when Antony and Dolabella were accuſed of ſome deſigns againſt his perſon and government, he ſaid, "I have "no apprehenſions from thoſe fat and ſleek men; I "rather fear the pale and lean ones;" meaning Caſſius and Brutus.

It ſeems, from this inſtance, that fate is not ſo ſecret, as it is inevitable. For we are told, there were ſtrong ſigns and preſages of the death of Cæſar. As to the lights in the heavens, the ſtrange noiſes* heard in various quarters by night, and the appearance of ſolitary

* With ſome of the manuſcripts, we read ΚΤΠΟΥΣ πυκνως πολλαχου διαφερομενους. If the common reading, ΤΠΠΟΥΣ, κ. τ. λ. be preferred, the ſenſe will be, *the ſpectres ſeen ſwimming about in the night*.

birds

birds in the *forum*, perhaps they deſerve not our notice in ſo great an event as this. But ſome attention ſhould be given to Strabo the philoſopher. According to him, there were ſeen in the air men of fire encountering each other; ſuch a flame appeared to iſſue from the hand of a ſoldier's ſervant, that all the ſpectators thought it muſt be burnt, yet, when it was over, he found no harm; and one of the victims which Cæſar offered, was found without a heart. The latter was certainly a moſt alarming prodigy; for, according to the rules of nature, no creature can exiſt without a heart. What is ſtill more extraordinary, many report, that a certain ſoothſayer forewarned him of a great danger which threatened him on the ides of March, and that when the day was come, as he was going to the ſenate-houſe, he called to the ſoothſayer, and ſaid, laughing, "The ides of March are come;" to which he anſwered, ſoftly, "Yes; but they are not gone."

The evening before, he ſupped with Marcus Lepidus, and ſigned, according to cuſtom, a number of letters, as he ſate at table. While he was ſo employed, there aroſe a queſtion, "What kind of death was the "beſt?" and Cæſar anſwering before them all, cried out, "a ſudden one." The ſame night, as he was in bed with his wife, the doors and windows of the room flew open at once. Diſturbed both with the noiſe and the light, he obſerved, by moon-ſhine, Calpurnia in a deep ſleep, uttering broken words and inarticulate groans. She dreamed that ſhe was weeping over him, as ſhe held him, murdered, in her arms. Others ſay, ſhe dreamed that the * pinnacle was fallen, which, as Livy tells us, the ſenate had ordered to be erected upon Cæſar's houſe, by way of ornament and diſtinction; and that it was the fall of it which ſhe lamented and wept for. Be that as it may, next morning ſhe con-

* The pinnacle was an ornament uſually placed upon the top of their temples, and was commonly adorned with ſome ſtatues of their gods, figures of victory, or other ſymbolical device.

jured

jured Cæſar not to go out that day, if he could poſſibly avoid it, but to adjourn the ſenate; and, if he paid no regard to her dreams, to have recourſe to ſome other ſpecies of divination, or to ſacrifices, for information as to his fate. This gave him ſome ſuſpicion and alarm; for he had never known before, in Calpurnia, any thing of the weakneſs or ſuperſtition of her ſex, though ſhe was now ſo much affected.

He therefore offered a number of ſacrifices, and, as the diviners found no auſpicious tokens in any of them, he ſent Antony to diſmiſs the ſenate. In the mean time, * Decius Brutus, ſurnamed Albinus, came in. He was a perſon in whom Cæſar placed ſuch confidence, that he had appointed him his ſecond heir, yet was he engaged in the conſpiracy with the other Brutus and Caſſius. This man, fearing that if Cæſar adjourned the ſenate to another day the affair might be diſcovered, laughed at the diviners, and told Cæſar he would be highly to blame, if, by ſuch a ſlight, he gave the ſenate an occaſion of complaint againſt him. "For "they were met," he ſaid, "at his ſummons, and "came prepared with one voice to honour him with "the title of king in the provinces, and to grant that "he ſhould wear the diadem both by land and ſea "every where out of Italy. But if any one go and "tell them, now they have taken their places, they "muſt go home again, and return when Calpurnia "happens to have better dreams, what room will your "enemies have to launch out againſt you? Or who "will hear your friends, when they attempt to ſhew, "that this is not an open ſervitude on the one hand, "and tyranny on the other?—If you are abſolutely "perſuaded that this is an unlucky day, it is certainly "better to go yourſelf, and tell them you have ſtrong "reaſons for putting off buſineſs till another time." So ſaying, he took Cæſar by the hand, and led him out.

* Plutarch finding a *D* prefixed to Brutus, took it for *Decius*; but his name was *Decimus* Brutus. See Appian and Suetonius.

He

He was not gone far from the door, when a ſlave, who belonged to ſome other perſon, attempted to get up to ſpeak to him, but finding it impoſſible, by reaſon of the crowd that was about him, he made his way into the houſe, and putting himſelf into the hands of Calpurnia, deſired her to keep him ſafe till Cæſar's return, becauſe he had matters of great importance to communicate.

Artemidorus the Cnidian, who, by teaching the Greek eloquence, became acquainted with ſome of Brutus's friends, and had got intelligence of moſt of the tranſactions, approached Cæſar with a paper, explaining what he had to diſcover. Obſerving that he gave the papers, as faſt as he received them, to his officers, he got up as cloſe as poſſible, and ſaid, "Cæſar, read "this to yourſelf and quickly; for it contains matters "of great conſequence, and of the laſt concern to "you." He took it, and attempted ſeveral times to read it, but was always prevented by one application or other. He therefore kept that paper, and that only in his hand, when he entered the houſe. Some ſay, it was delivered to him by another man, Artemidorus being kept from approaching him all the way by the crowd.

Theſe things might, indeed, fall out by chance; but as in the place where the ſenate was that day aſſembled, and which proved the ſcene of that tragedy, there was a ſtatue of Pompey, and it was an edifice which Pompey had conſecrated for an ornament to his theatre, nothing can be clearer than that ſome deity conducted the whole buſineſs, and directed the execution of it to that very ſpot. Even Caſſius himſelf, though inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus, turned his eye to the ſtatue of Pompey, and ſecretly invoked his aid, before the great attempt. The arduous occaſion, it ſeems, over-ruled his former ſentiments, and laid him open to all the influence of enthuſiaſm. Antony, who was a faithful friend to Cæſar, and a man of great ſtrength, was held in diſcourſe without by

Brutus

* Brutus Albinus, who had contrived a long ſtory to detain him.

When Cæſar entered the houſe, the ſenate roſe to do him honour. Some of Brutus's accomplices came up behind his chair, and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with † Metillius Cimber, for the recall of his brother from exile. They continued their inſtances till he came to his ſeat. When he was ſeated, he gave them a poſitive denial; and as they continued their importunities with an air of compulſion, he grew angry. ‡ Cimber then with both hands pulled his gown off his neck, which was the ſignal for the attack. Caſca gave him the firſt blow. It was a ſtroke upon the neck with his ſword, but the wound was not dangerous; for in the beginning of ſo tremendous an enterprize he was probably in ſome diſorder. Cæſar therefore turned upon him, and laid hold of his ſword. At the ſame time they both cried out, the one in Latin, "Villain! Caſca! what doſt "thou mean?" and the other in Greek, to his brother, "Brother, help!"

After ſuch a beginning, thoſe who knew nothing of the conſpiracy, were ſeized with conſternation and horror, inſomuch that they durſt neither fly, nor aſſiſt, nor even utter a word. All the conſpirators now drew their ſwords, and ſurrounded him in ſuch a manner, that, whatever way he turned, he ſaw nothing but ſteel gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like ſome ſavage beaſt attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted againſt him, for they had all agreed to have a ſhare in the ſacrifice and

* By Caius Trebonius. So Plutarch ſays, in the Life of Brutus; Appian ſays the ſame; and Cicero too, in his ſecond Philippic.

† *Metillius* is plainly a corruption. Suetonius calls him *Cimber Tullius*. In Appian he is named *Atilius Cimber*, and there is a medal which bears that name; but that medal is believed to be ſpurious. Some call him Metellus Cimber; and others ſuppoſe we ſhould read M. Tullius Cimber.

‡ Here in the original it is Metillius again.

a taſte

a taſte of his blood. Therefore Brutus himſelf gave him a ſtroke in the groin. Some ſay, he oppoſed the reſt, and continued ſtruggling and crying out, till he perceived the ſword of Brutus; then he drew his robe over his face, and yielded to his fate. Either by accident, or puſhed thither by the conſpirators, he expired on the pedeſtal of Pompey's ſtatue, and dyed it with his blood; ſo that Pompey ſeemed to preſide over the work of vengeance, to tread his enemy under his feet, and to enjoy his agonies. Thoſe agonies were great, for he received no leſs than three and twenty wounds. And many of the conſpirators wounded each other, as they were aiming their blows at him.

Cæſar thus diſpatched, Brutus advanced to ſpeak to the ſenate, and to aſſign his reaſons for what he had done, but they could not bear to hear him; they fled out of the houſe, and filled the people with inexpreſſible horror and diſmay. Some ſhut up their houſes; others left their ſhops and counters. All were in motion: One was running to ſee the ſpectacle; another running back. Antony and Lepidus, Cæſar's principal friends, withdrew, and hid themſelves in other people's houſes. Meantime Brutus and his confederates, yet warm from the ſlaughter, marched in a body, with their bloody ſwords in their hands, from the ſenate-houſe to the capitol, not like men that fled, but with an air of gaiety and confidence, calling the people to liberty, and ſtopping to talk with every man of conſequence whom they met. There were ſome who even joined them, and mingled with their train; deſirous of appearing to have had a ſhare in the action, and hoping for one in the glory. Of this number were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity; being put to death by Antony and young Cæſar. So that they gained not even the honour for which they loſt their lives; for nobody believed that they had any part in the enterprize; and they were puniſhed, not for the deed, but for the will.

Next

Next day, Brutus, and the reſt of the conſpirators came down from the capitol, and addreſſed the people, who attended to their diſcourſe, without expreſſing either diſlike or approbation of what was done. But by their ſilence it appeared that they pitied Cæſar, at the ſame time that they revered Brutus. The ſenate paſſed a general amneſty, and, to reconcile all parties, they decreed Cæſar divine honours, and confirmed all the acts of his dictatorſhip; while on Brutus and his friends they beſtowed governments, and ſuch honours as were ſuitable: So that it was generally imagined the commonwealth was firmly eſtabliſhed again, and all brought into the beſt order.

But when, upon the opening of Cæſar's will, it was found that he had left every Roman citizen a conſiderable legacy, and they beheld the body, as it was carried through the *forum*, all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer be kept within bounds. They ſtopt the proceſſion, and tearing up the benches, with the doors and tables, heaped them into a pile, and burnt the corpſe there. Then ſnatching flaming brands from the pile, ſome ran to burn the houſes of the aſſaſſins, while others ranged the city, to find the conſpirators themſelves, and tear them in pieces; but they had taken ſuch care to ſecure themſelves, that they could not meet with one of them.

One Cinna, a friend of Cæſar's, had a ſtrange dream the preceding night. He dreamed (as they tell us) that Cæſar invited him to ſupper, and, upon his refuſal to go, caught him by the hand, and drew him after him, in ſpite of all the reſiſtance he could make. Hearing, however, that the body of Cæſar was to be burnt in the *forum*, he went to aſſiſt in doing him the laſt honours, though he had a fever upon him, the conſequence of his uneaſineſs about his dream. On his coming up, one of the populace aſked, "Who "that was?" and having learned his name, told it his next neighbour. A report immediately ſpread through the

the whole company, that it was one of Cæſar's murderers; and, indeed, one of the conſpirators was named Cinna. The multitude taking this for the man, fell upon him, and tore him to pieces upon the ſpot. Brutus and Caſſius were ſo terrified at this rage of the populace, that, a few days after, they left the city. An account of their ſubſequent actions, ſufferings, and death, may be found in the life of Brutus.

Cæſar died at the age of fifty-ſix, and did not ſurvive Pompey above four years. His object was ſovereign power and authority, which he purſued through innumerable dangers, and by prodigious efforts he gained it at laſt. But he reaped no other fruits from it than an empty and an invidious title. It is true, the divine power which conducted him through life, attended him after his death as his avenger, purſued and hunted out the aſſaſſins over ſea and land, and reſted not till there was not a man left, either of thoſe who dipt their hands in his blood, or of thoſe who gave their ſanction to the deed.

The moſt remarkable of natural events relative to this affair, was, that Caſſius, after he had loſt the battle of Philippi, killed himſelf with the ſame dagger which he had made uſe of againſt Cæſar; and the moſt ſignal phænomenon in the heavens, was that of a great comet *, which ſhone very bright for ſeven nights after Cæſar's death, and then diſappeared. To which we may add the fading of the ſun's luſtre; for his orb looked pale all that year; he roſe not with a ſparkling radiance, nor had the heat he afforded its uſual ſtrength. The air, of courſe, was dark and heavy, for want of that vigorous heat which clears and

* "A comet made its appearance in the north, while we were "celebrating the games in honour of Cæſar, and ſhone bright "for ſeven days. It aroſe about the eleventh hour of the day, "and was ſeen by all nations. It was commonly believed to be "a ſign that the ſoul of Cæſar was admitted among the gods; "for which reaſon we added a ſtar to the head of his ſtatue con-"ſecrated ſoon after in the *Forum*."

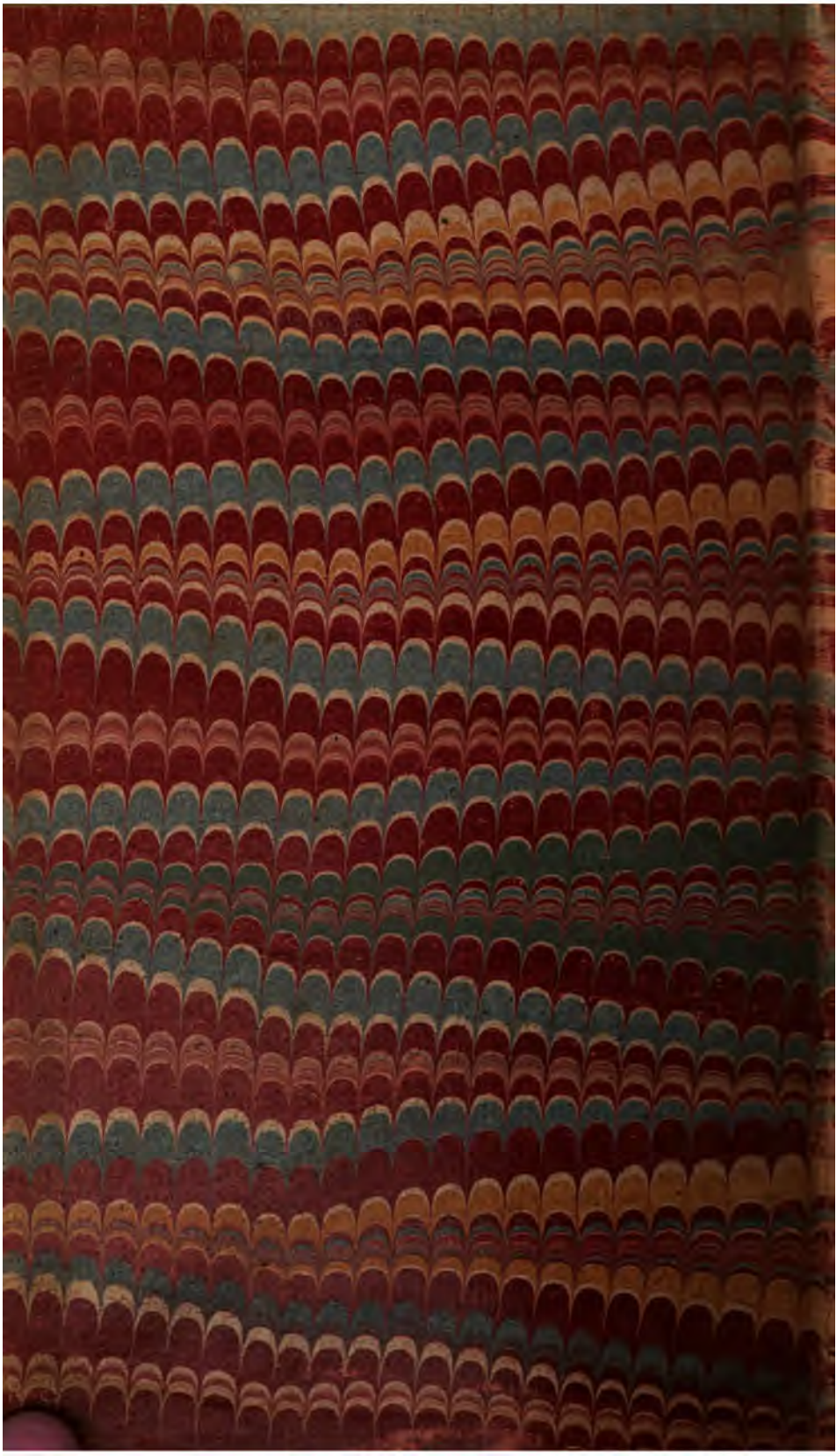
Fragm. Aug. Cæs. ap. Plin. l. ii. c. 25.

rarefies it; and the fruits were ſo crude and unconcocted, that they pined away and decayed, through the chillneſs of the atmoſphere.

We have a proof ſtill more ſtriking, that the aſſaſſination of Cæſar was diſpleaſing to the gods, in the phantom that appeared to Brutus. The ſtory of it is this: Brutus was on the point of tranſporting his army from Abydos to the oppoſite continent; and the night before he lay in his tent, awake, according to cuſtom, and in deep thought about what might be the event of the war; for it was natural to him to watch great part of the night, and no general ever required ſo little ſleep. With all his ſenſes about him, he heard a noiſe at the door of his tent, and looking towards the light, which was now burnt very low, he ſaw a terrible appearance in the human form, but of prodigious ſtature, and the moſt hideous aſpect. At firſt he was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment; but when he ſaw it neither did nor ſpoke any thing to him, but ſtood in ſilence by his bed, he aſked it, "who it "was?" The ſpectre anſwered, "I am thy evil "genius, Brutus; thou ſhalt ſee me at Philippi." Brutus anſwered boldly, "I'll meet thee there;" and the ſpectre immediately vaniſhed.

Some time after, he engaged Antony and Octavius Cæſar at Philippi, and the firſt day was victorious, carrying all before him where he fought in perſon, and even pillaging Cæſar's camp. The night before he was to fight the ſecond battle, the ſame ſpectre appeared to him again, but ſpoke not a word. Brutus, however, underſtood that his laſt hour was near, and courted danger with all the violence of deſpair. Yet he did not fall in the action; but ſeeing all loſt, he retired to the top of a rock, where he preſented his naked ſword to his breaſt, and a friend, as they tell us, aſſiſting the thruſt, he died upon the ſpot *.

* Whatever Plutarch's motive may have been, it is certain that he has given us a very inadequate and imperfect idea of the character of Cæſar. The life he has written is a confuſed jumble of facts

facts snatched from different historians, without order, consistency, regularity, or accuracy. He has left us none of those finer and minuter traits, which, as he elsewhere justly observes, distinguish and characterise the man more than his most popular and splendid operations. He has written the life of Cæsar like a man under restraint; has skimmed over his actions, and shewn a manifest satisfaction when he could draw the attention of the reader to other characters and circumstances, however insignificant, or how often soever repeated by himself, in the narrative of other lives. Yet from the little light he has afforded us, and from the better accounts of other historians, we may easily discover, that Cæsar was a man of great and distinguished virtues. Had he been as able in his political as he was in his military capacity, had he been capable of hiding, or even of managing that openness of mind, which was the connate attendant of his liberality and ambition, the last prevailing passion would not have blinded him so far, as to put so early a period to his race of glory.

END of VOLUME IV.